

AN  
ADDRESS  
TO THE  
LIVERY MEN  
OF THE  
CITY of *LONDON*,

FROM  
*Sir Crisp Gascoyne, Knt.*  
Late LORD-MAYOR,

Relative to His Conduct in the CASES of  
ELIZABETH CANNING  
AND  
MARY SQUIRES.

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*LONDON:*  
Printed for JAMES HODGES, at *London-Bridge*, 1754.  
(Price TWO SHILLINGS.)













*Mary Squires the Gypfy, who stript Eliz.<sup>a</sup> Canning, at Enfield Wash, Drawn  
while She was on her Examination before Justice Fielding, by the Honourable R — E —  
and Etch'd by Tho.<sup>s</sup> Worlidge Painter in the Piazza, Covent Garden.*



TO THE  
LIVERY MEN  
OF THE  
CITY of LONDON.

GENTLEMEN,

**Y**OU were pleas'd some time since to appoint me to the highest office of this City; an honour of which I shall ever retain a most grateful remembrance.

I persuade myself, 'tis no error in me to suppose, the whole of my acknowledgments cannot be paid in gratitude:

I esteem it a duty at all times to entertain, and, whenever necessary, to express in the most public manner my sense of that great mark of Your confidence: and I think myself also ACCOUNTABLE to You for my conduct, in all public matters, during the continuance of that office.

It hath happened that a very material and a very singular transaction hath marked the MAYORALTY in which I served.

Give me leave, Gentlemen, to assure You that my own heart perfectly approves my whole conduct in that matter, notwithstanding the many severe reflections I have endured.

If I could submit to those reflections so far as they regarded myself, yet it becomes me to vindicate Your magistrate—It is not proper that the Lord-Mayor of London should be condemned, where he is innocent:

Nor can I while a perfect justification of every step that I have taken is so easily in my power, suffer a blot to remain upon that Year of the City's Administration—a City, amongst its many other pre-eminent distinctions, at all times heretofore distinguished by the exemplary conduct of its Chief Magistrates.

For my own part when I consider the great importance, as well as dignity of that high office; when I reflect upon the many qualifications requisite to the filling it, I cannot be blind to my own deficiency.

B

But



But this is no new thought in me :

I entertained the same high sense of that office, and the same humble opinion of myself, when I first entered upon it ; and my resolution was to atone for those defects, by care, attention, and integrity.

These are in every man's power, and are better than all the qualifications in the world.

To that resolution I steadily adhered, and hoped by it to have passed, if not applauded, at least unimpeached, through this high office.

But I found my error :

No conduct can secure the person from censure, who happens to become the subject of the popular voice : but though nothing can secure such a man from censure, it will be easy for him who has not deserved it to vindicate himself ; and being in his power, it becomes his duty.

This, Gentlemen, is the sense I have of my present Condition ; and in consequence of this, I take the liberty of making my address to You.

But before I proceed to the intended relation, permit me, to declare the true reasons of my delaying it so long.

The Tryal of *Elizabeth Canning* (from the sentence upon whose accusation I assisted in rescuing the innocent Convict) was yet depending ; and I well knew the weight my justification must have against her.

I chose therefore to dispense with the injuries my silence countenanced, rather than pursue a remedy at her expence.

But now that restraint is at an end, and I can speak with freedom, I shall state my whole conduct, and my motives to it, with that observance of truth, and with that plainness, it becomes me to speak before You.

In the *February Sessions* of my MAYORALTY, *Mary Squires*, an infirm old woman, a travelling pedlar, and said to be one of the people, called Gypsies, was tried for the robbery of *Elizabeth Canning*, on the 2d of *January*, of her stays, in the house of *Susannah Wells*, and of having afterwards confined her in a dark room, almost without sustenance ; from which she escaped after a month.

The story was, that this Girl had been robbed in *Moorfields*, thence dragged eleven miles in a fit by the two men who had robbed her, to the house of this *Wells*, and there further stripped and confined in this manner by *Squires*.

This is the purport of the story, a story too well known to need any repetition : I have no desire to represent it otherwise than



than as it stands; nor could I, by otherwise representing it, render it more contradictory to reason.

However upon the credit of this Girl's relation, confirmed by the evidence of one *Virtue Hall* (a lodger in the house) this poor woman was condemned.

Let none suppose it a reflection on a Court that she was sentenced, yet innocent——Courts are composed of men: and men can only judge by what they are told——The Almighty who sees the heart, has not given to human creatures that power with respect to one another.

The unhappy object of this sentence was indeed convicted, if I may be allowed the expression, in the minds of men, before she was tried.

Some credulous, though perhaps good, men, had received the story as the Girl related it, they pitied her, and pursued uncommon means to raise towards her the pity of others.

The *news-papers* were full of this miraculous tale, *hand-bills* universally dispersed, and the truth of it openly attested under the hands of <sup>a</sup> those who did not, who could not, know any thing of the matter.

Their public attestations raised credit to the story; subscriptions were set on foot, and charity itself prostituted to their zeal.

I will yet suppose that those men acted only inconsiderately, without foreseeing that every step taken towards exciting that compassion must necessarily excite equal prejudice against the person accused.

But, all circumstances taken together, surely no poor creature ever before appeared at the Bar, more perfectly deprived of the mercy of the law, which presumes guilt in no one before conviction.

The great care which was taken by the *Honourable Judge* who tried her, to remove (if possible) the effects of that prejudice from the minds of the jury, shewed his abhorrence of the means made use of to create it, and his just apprehensions of its consequences.

I may now say without offence, what I declared at that time—I doubted the whole story, and was dissatisfied with the verdict.

Were it necessary, I might justify myself, by declaring I was not the only Person upon that honourable bench who doubted: I could upon this occasion call upon the names of several others to give authority to my suspicions.

But

<sup>a</sup> Francis Roberts,  
Thomas Myles,  
John Marshall,  
Robert Gerrard,

Jasper Brydon,  
Thomas King,  
Edward Lyon.



But I seek no foreign sanction to what I have done : I judged as a man, and I might be mistaken ; and knowing, this I acted cautiously.

Besides the IMPROBABILITY of the story, many other things conspired to make me think a further inquiry necessary ;—amongst which were, the antecedent PREJUDICE in mens minds, the OUTRAGES of the mob preventing that solemn and sacred freedom which should attend upon all trials, and the CONTRADICTIONARY EVIDENCE given upon this : and as this trial happened in a court wherein I had the honour to preside, I thought it a duty in me to make that inquiry.

I have thus, Gentlemen, given You the occasion of my doubts, and the reasons of my succeeding conduct ; I shall now proceed to lay before You the steps I took for the removing those suspicions, or confirming them.

There appeared upon the trial two persons from *Abbotsbury*, a very remote Town, who attested that the woman, accused of this robbery, was at that place, with her son and daughter, at the very time when it was said to have been committed ; and that they stayed at the house of one of the witnesses, who keeps an inn there, for nine days.

If what they swore was false, 'twas easily detected, and if true, this Woman could not be guilty :

And there appeared no cause to suppose, that these Countrymen should come above 100 miles to forswear themselves on behalf of this miserable object.

I confess I believed them, and therefore directed Mr. *Ford* to write the following Letter to the Minister of that Town, then an entire stranger to me, but whose acquaintance now I cannot too much esteem,

*To the Minister of Abbotsbury, in Dorsetshire.*

“ SIR,

“ I Am honoured with the commands of my Lord-Mayor, and in his presence I write to you upon the following occasion.

“ At this present Session *Mary Squires*, an old gypsey, was convicted of robbing *Elizabeth Canning* on the 2d of *January* last, at *Endfield* in *Middlesex*.

“ The principal witnesses in support of the prosecution were *Canning* herself, and one *Virtue Hall*, who gave positive evidence against her.

“ In her defence, *John Gibbons* and *William Clark* of your parish as positively attested, that she, with her son *George* and daughter *Lucy*, came there the 1st of *January*, quartered at *Gibbons's* house, and stayed there till the 9th, selling lawns, handkerchiefs, cheques, and the like.

“ The convict is so very remarkable, 'tis as impossible that any of the witnesses can be mistaken in her person, as that their different accounts can be true.

“ She



" She is at least 70, tall, and stoops; her face is long and meagre, her nose very large, her eyes very full and dark, her complexion remarkably swarthy, and her under-lip of a prodigious size.

" Where the perjury lies is a question, You, Sir, by enquiry in your parish, may easily resolve; the facts sworn to by your parishioners being such, as must be notoriously true, or notoriously false.

" If true, God forbid, she should suffer, and if false, those men ought not to escape with impunity.

" The end of this Letter carries with it so good an excuse for the trouble it may give you—'tis needless to add to it.

" If there is the life of a fellow-creature in one scale, there is the character of a young girl in the other; whose sufferings, if real, deserve universal pity.

" The sacred function you bear is a security to his Lordship for your humanity, and your justice.

" To your account, you'll be pleased to add, what are the characters of *Gibbons* and *Clark*. I am,

" SIR,

" Your most humble servant,

London, 24 Feb. 1753.

" T. FORD."

Please to direct to me in *Aldermanbury*.

To this Letter that worthy Divine was pleased to return the following Answer,

To Mr. Ford, in *Aldermanbury*, London.

" SIR,

" MY regard for the Public, and my respect for the great name mentioned in your letter, would have obliged me to have answered it sooner had I been at home. But I spent the last week with a friend a few miles off, and did not return till Saturday night. I find that since your writing several of my neighbours have joined in an affidavit fully describing the person of *Mary Squires*, and proving her to be at *Abbotsbury* from the 1st of *January* to the 9th, &c. which affidavit I suppose you have before now. However, I have this morning sent for several of my parish who well know this woman and her companions, one particularly with whom they always lodged till this last time of their coming here. And he tells me, that he has known this *Mary Squires* upwards of thirty years—That she, with others of that name, and some of other names, have in that space of time often come to his house, sometimes once or twice in a year, at other times once in two or three years—That they (this *Mary Squires* and others) were at his house about three years ago, which was the last time they were at *Abbotsbury* till the 1st of *January* last. That he often saw them at the house of *John Gibbons* between the 1st and the 9th of *January*—That they always went under the denomination of gypsies, that they had goods (as handkerchiefs, aprons, gowns, &c.) to sell, that they never wanted money, and always paid him very justly for what they had. Their being here this last time could be proved by most of the younger sort in my parish, for as it was *Christmas*-time they had dancing almost every night at the house, and the son and daughter of *Squires* danced constantly with the people of the town.—As to the evidences I never knew any thing by them but what was honest, nor do I believe that they would by any means be induced to give a false evidence. If I can be farther serviceable in this affair, you may freely command

" SIR,

" Your most humble servant,

*Abbotsbury*, 5th March 1753.

" JAMES HARRIS,

" Vicar of *Abbotsbury*."



On the receipt of this letter I sent to the espousers of the girl, and communicated it to them.

At the same time I shewed them the following Letters and Certificate, which had been transmitted to Mr. *Bun*, Clerk to the late Honourable Mr. Justice *Gundry*, by Mr. *Willis*, then Under-sheriff of *Dorsetshire*, and afterwards, unexpectedly, laid before me in consequence of that worthy Judge's directions.

To Mr. *Bun*, Attorney at Law in Chancery-lane, London.

" SIR,

" I Received yours, and yesterday I sent it inclosed by *George Fone* to Mr. *Harris* the Minister of *Abbotsbury*, and desired him to make the best enquiry he could into the affair, and give me as full an account thereof as he could get; but Mr. *Harris* being at Dr. *Dawney's* at *Piddletown*, a messenger was dispatched to him with my letter and yours, and on the other side hereof you have his answer, and you have also inclosed a certificate of the Churchwardens and Overseers, and other substantial people of the town, most of whom I well know, and if *Mary Squires* answers the description therein given, particularly as to her under-lip in which they say she had an evilish disorder, I should think it's pretty clear she was at *Abbotsbury* at the time of the robbery, and tho' it is said in the Certificate on or about the first of *January*, I believe most of them could be certain as to the day.

" *Gibbons* and *Clarke* both came to me the day before they set out for *London*, to be informed what method to take to be paid for their journey, when they shewed me the subpoenas they were served with, and said that *George Squires* (mentioned in the certificate) came down to serve them, and that he waited at *Abbotsbury* to go up with them, and told me the same story as I imagined they proved on the trial; and I since find that *Clarke* fell in love with *Lucy* the young gypsy, and went with them or followed them to *Ridgway*, when they left *Abbotsbury*, and tarried with them a day or two, and both he and *Gibbons* must well remember the old woman, and from what knowledge I have of them, and the information I have from others, I verily believe they are both very honest men, and would not have given the evidence they did had it not been true.

" If any further information shall be wanted I will readily get it, as it will give me great pleasure to be instrumental in saving an innocent person's life, and am,

" SIR,

" Your humble servant,

*Dorchester*, 28 Feb. 1753.

" ROBERT WILLIS."

P.S. " Since the above I am informed that *Mary Squires* and her son and daughter were at *Litton* before they went to *Abbotsbury*, and that they actually came to *Gibbons's* house on the first of *January* last (new stile) and continued there the time mentioned in the certificate, which can be fully proved by many other persons in *Abbotsbury*; and no doubt but it can be proved by others at *Litton*, that they left that place the same day."



“ WE whose names are hereunto subscribed, being the Churchwardens and Overseers of the Poor, and other principal inhabitants of the parish of *Abbotsbury* in the county of *Dorset*, do hereby certify, That on or about the first day of *January* last past (new stile) there came to *Abbotsbury* aforesaid three persons commonly called gypsies, one of which an elderly woman of about seventy years of age, another a man about thirty years of age (called *George*) and the other a woman about twenty-six years of age (called *Lucy*) whom the old woman called her son and daughter, and they called her mother—That they quartered there at the house of *John Gibbons*, known by the sign of the *Old Ship*, and continued there for the space of nine days, under pretence of selling handkerchiefs, waistcoats, and other goods. —That the old woman was about five feet seven or eight inches high, of a very black rusty complexion, with black eyes, a large nose, and an uncommon thick under-lip, as big almost as a little child's arm.—And we do further certify, that we well know *John Gibbons* the landlord of the *Ship-inn* aforesaid, and *William Clark* of *Abbotsbury* aforesaid, cordwainer; and that we believe them to be persons of very good characters, and would on no account give false evidence. Witness our hands this 28th day of *February*, 1753.

*Edward Thorne*, Officer  
*Daniel Wallis*, Mercer  
*Gregory Hansford*  
*John Bailly*  
*Ralph Crofts*, Tything-man  
*Thomas Porter*  
*Step. Lock*, Mercer

*John Oliver*  
*John Clark* } Churchwardens  
*Henry Gibbons* } Overseers of the Poor  
*Richard Hall*  
*Hugh Bond*, Schoolmaster  
*Charles White*, Farmer  
*John Talbott*, Farmer  
*John Ford*.

To Mr. Willis, Attorney at Law, at Dorchester.

“ SIR,

“ I Have reason to believe from common report that there were three persons, who went under the denomination of gypsies, at the house of *John Gibbons* within my parish about the time mentioned in the letter; but their names and persons I was an utter stranger to.  
 “ As to my neighbours *Gibbons* and *Clarke*, I believe them to be too honest men to give a false evidence. I am

“ SIR,

“ Your very humble servant,

*Piddletown*, 27th Feb. 1753.

“ JAMES HARRIS,  
 “ Vicar of *Abbotsbury*.”

Mr. *Willis*, (a gentleman whose character for integrity and discernment is too well established to need any further mention here) having been pleased also, for the sake of public justice, to transmit the following affidavit, which was laid before me :

*Borough*



*Borough of Dorchester, in the County of Dorset.* } “ ON this second day of *March*, One thousand seven hundred and fifty-three, *Ralph Crofts* of *Abbotsbury* in the county of *Dorset*, innholder, *John Ford* of the same place carpenter, *John Baily* of the same place carpenter, *Joseph Gibbons* of the same place yeoman, *William Ford* of the same place fisherman, and *Richard Arnold* of the same blacksmith, voluntarily came before me *Richard Cooper*, gentleman, Mayor of the Borough of *Dorchester* aforesaid, and severally made oath as follows; and first all of them the said *Ralph Crofts*, *John Ford*, *John Baily*, *Joseph Gibbons*, *William Ford*, and *Richard Arnold*, make oath and say, that on the first Day of *January* last past (New Stile) one *Mary Squires*, and also *George* her son and *Lucy* her daughter, all came to *Abbotsbury* aforesaid, and put up and quarter’d at the *Old-Skip* and Excise office there, then and now kept by one *John Gibbons*, and all of them continued there for the space of nine days; during which time they sold handkerchiefs and other goods about the town of *Abbotsbury* aforesaid. And these deponents further say, that by the said *Mary Squires* and her children having from time to time used the said town of *Abbotsbury* for many years before, as pedlars or gypsies in selling handkerchiefs and other goods; and by the said *Mary Squires* having a particular remarkable large under-lip, they the said *Mary Squires* and her children became well known to all these deponents, and also to all or the greatest part of the other inhabitants of the said town of *Abbotsbury*. And therefore these deponents verily believe, that her the said *Mary Squires* and her Son and Daughter’s coming to *Abbotsbury* aforesaid, on the said 1st day of *January* last past (New Stile) and continuing there for the space of nine days as aforesaid, can be proved at least by one hundred other persons in *Abbotsbury* aforesaid.”

Sworn at *Dorchester* in the county of *Dorset*,  
the second day of *March*, one thousand seven hundred and fifty-three, before me,  
Richard Cooper, Mayor.

Sworn in the presence of

Robert Willis.

Ralph Crofts,  
John Ford,  
John Bailey,  
The Mark of  
+  
Joseph Gibbons,  
William Ford,  
The Mark of  
R  
Richard Arnold.

This I also communicated to the Friends of *Canning*.

There having appeared also upon the trial one *Thomas Greville* from *Coombe*, a little village about three miles beyond *Salisbury*, who, in confirmation of the evidence of *Gibbons* and *Clarke*, attested that the Old Gypsey, with her Son and Daughter, came to his house on *Sunday* the 14th of *January*, and quartered there that night; the following certificate to support his testimony was also laid before me,

February the 28th, 1753.

“ THIS is to certify, that *Thomas Greville*, of the parish of *Coombe-Bisset* in the county of *Wilts*, is a very honest man, and always bore a good character; and we, who have set our names hereunder, do believe that the Gypsey-woman was at *Coombe* at the same time, according to evidence.

<i>John Palmer,</i>	} Church-wardens.
<i>Thomas Fulham,</i>	
<i>John Barber,</i>	Overseer.
<i>John Lipps,</i>	} Inhabitants.
<i>John Barber,</i>	
<i>John Harwood,</i>	



This I also communicated to them.

What effect, Gentlemen, would all the foregoing letters and certificates have had with You? but the question is unnecessary, they had the same with me.

However, as the Girl's friends were pleased to doubt, whether the Convict was the same person, what was to be done?

Was this Woman to be executed, or was her identity to be proved?

If her identity was to be proved, how was this to be done? and at whose expence?

The Woman and her Family were all utter strangers to me, penniless and friendless; and it was evident, if I spared the expence, innocent as she appeared, she must suffer.

I therefore directed Mr. *Ford* to write again to Mr. *Harris*, to inform him of the doubts that had been raised, whether *Mary Squires* under sentence was the same *Mary Squires* mentioned in his letter, and to desire him to send to *London* two men, whose characters he would certify, to determine that matter.

In this they could not be mistaken, for she was one of the most remarkable of the human kind.—With deference, be it spoken, to his pleasure, who has not marked the characters of mankind by their features, she is a perfect *Cariacatura*.

Whilst I was making this inquiry, another circumstance happened.

In the evening of the 6th of *March*, I received an account from Dr. *Hill* (whom I never saw before) that *Virtue Hall*, upon whose oath the robbery had been confirmed, a poor, illiterate, ignorant girl, was then in the *Gatehouse*, not under confinement as a prisoner, but supported there by *Canning's* friends; and that she had the day before discovered to Justice *Lediard* great signs of uneasiness, and a willingness to declare the truth.

This news was the more agreeable to me, because it informed me, what *Canning's* friends had declined to inform me, where she was.

Several gentlemen of distinction were then with me; and it was their opinion, as well as my own, that she should be immediately sent for.

I thereupon directed Mr. *White*, one of my marshals-men, to go to the *Gatehouse*, and in my name to desire the keeper of that goal to bring her before me.

In less than two hours *White* returned, and with him came *Virtue Hall* and one of the goaler's servants. But who to my great surprize came in with her?—*Canning's* friends!

D

Though



Though I communicated to them all my actions, and intended, upon the success of my message, to have sent for them; yet I cannot but say, I wondered at their *Expedition*, especially when *White* informed me that they were not at the *Gatehouse* when he was there: but I was still more surprized to hear *White* attest upon his oath, the wicked instructions which were given her at that place, “ *Be sure, VIRTUE, remember what you swore before, and stand to it!*”

I then proceeded publickly to examine her (without oath) with all imaginable tenderness, having previously admonished her to speak the truth.

Many questions were proposed to her, to which she gave no answer; the only reply I could get to any was *Yes* or *No*, and even that was given with all the visible marks of horror and distress, without the least freedom or appearance of truth.

What, Gentlemen, would You now have done?

I asked her, if she was desirous to speak to me in another room; and she most readily assented.

I determined, however, I would not be with her alone, and therefore desired Sir *John Phillips*, a gentleman, whose name is sufficient to sanctify what passed, to accompany me.

No sooner had we retired with her, but she instantly burst into a flood of tears, and *confessed that all she had sworn was false*; I asked her why she had not confessed this in the other room—her answer was—*the Friends of Canning were by*.

After a very short stay (a quarter of an hour at most) we returned, and she then publickly declared that “ *CANNING never came into the house, no robbery had been committed there, that Fortune Natus and his wife lay in the room CANNING said she was confined in during the whole time of her pretended confinement, that SQUIRES and her family came there but eight days before she was apprehended, and that the whole story was a falsity; and that she had on her Examination before Justice Tyshmaker, and at first on her Examination before Justice Fielding, declared so.*”

To this confession she added the great satisfaction she felt at the discharge of this heavy load from her mind.

Was it possible for me, Gentlemen, to describe the manner, in which she made this recantation, You could not doubt it's truth, or sincerity.

I then directed this Girl, with her own consent, to be taken care of in the *Poultry-Compter* (where the friends of *Canning* promised to maintain her) and appointed the *Thursday* following for another public Examination: at which several Aldermen, and Gentlemen of distinction, and the Friends of *Canning*, nay herself was also present.



The Girl then went through a strict Examination of two hours, with that deportment, consistency, and freedom (the characters of truth) that all who were present (*CANNING's Friends excepted*) seemed convinced; indeed there could not now want further occasion of conviction.

At this Examination, like all the rest, no one was excluded who desired to be present, and all had the liberty of asking what questions they pleased.

She was asked, how she came to forswear herself; her answer was, That "when she was at Mr. *Fielding's* she at first spoke the truth, but that she was told that *that* was not the truth, and "was <sup>a</sup> *terrified and threatened to be sent to Newgate and prosecuted as a felon, unless she would speak the truth.*"——And therefore she swore what was false to save her own life.

She was further asked, how she was enabled to confirm *Canning* in her evidence; her answer was, That "she had heard "*Canning's* story at Mrs. *Wells's* the day they were taken up, "afterwards at Justice *Tybmaker's*, and afterwards from several "other persons;——that *Canning* was first examined upon the "trial and that she stood near her at the time she gave her "evidence."

One circumstance which happened I'll mention here, I shall take further notice of it hereafter, when I come to examine under whose directions *Canning* PROBABLY WAS.

The *pitcher*, in which was pretended to have been the water, and the *bed-gown*, which she said she found in *Wells's* house and came home in, were produced upon this examination: at the close of it, as *Canning* was folding up the *bed-gown*, I said to her, Child, you must not take it away with you; she immediately answered, "Yes, my Lord, *I must, IT IS MY MOTHER'S.*"

Many gentlemen heard it, and there were some who said "*this was not only Hall's recantation.*"

Tho' I had no doubt of the truth of *Hall's* confession, yet as there was a certain way open to try its validity, I could not neglect the opportunity.

There was at this time in *Newgate Susan Wells* the mistress of the house, in which the robbery had been pretended to be committed: her sentence had been burning in the hand, which she had suffered, and

<sup>a</sup> Vid. PUBLIC ADVERTISER, Saturday 10th Feb. 1753, which (speaking of this affair) gives an account that "this girl was brought before Mr. *Fielding* on Thursday evening, and was under examination from five "till twelve at night; when, after many hard struggles, and stout denials of the truth, she, at length, confessed the whole; by which means it is not doubted but that all the actors of that cruel scene will be brought to the fate they deserve."

<sup>b</sup> Vid. Mr. *Fielding's* Clear State of the Case of *Elizabeth Canning*, fol. 39.——says the author, "She had "been guilty of so many prevarications and contradictions, that I told her I would examine her no longer, "but would commit her to prison, and leave her to stand or fall by the evidence against her, and at the "same time ADVISED Mr. *Salt* to prosecute her as a felon, together with the gypsy woman."——



and imprisonment for a certain time, under which she now lay. She had been present when VIRTUE HALL was also present, and by her, if this latter account was true, it would be confirmed; and if false, it would be exposed as such by their different relations.

I accordingly went to Mr. *Akerman's* house, accompanied by several Gentlemen of distinction, amongst whom *The now Lord-Mayor* (who was present at the Girl's recantation) was pleased to do me that Honour; and there I examined this *Wells*, who, I am persuaded, as yet knew nothing of *Hall's* having recanted.

She assured me, that "all this Girl had sworn was false from the beginning to the end; that no such person as *Canning* had ever been in her house, that no robbery had been committed there, that *Squires* and her Family had came there but eight days before she was apprehended;" and confirmed, circumstance by circumstance, all that the other had declared in her recantation.

Now, Gentlemen, let me appeal to You, whether there is not a way of procuring truth even from the wicked—these two persons, each of whom was strictly examined for at least two hours, agreed in the most minute articles—that agreement could arise from nothing but truth—'tis impossible that two persons, not knowing what each other had said, could agree in all the circumstances of a falsehood.

One thing now opened the way to another—The Convict's witnesses from *Enfield*, who at the time of the Tryal had been insulted by the mob, finding the avenues to justice open, came, unsolicited, unexpected—and gave in the following confirmation of the Convict's innocence, and of the guilt of her accuser.

London. *The information of Fortune Natus, of Waltham-Cross in the County of Hertford, husbandman, and Judy his wife; taken upon oath the 12th day of March, 1753. before me Sir Crisp Gascoyne, Knt. Mayor of the City of London.*

" BOTH the above informants say, that on the very day *Susanna Wells* and *Mary Squires* (two convicts in *Newgate*) were taken up for the supposed robbery of *Elizabeth Canning*, and for ten weeks before, they lodged in the house of the said *Susanna Wells* at *Endfield-Wash*, and paid nine-pence per week for their lodging; and that during all that time (except one night and which was before last *Christmas*) they constantly laid in the very room in the said *Mrs. Wells's* house in which the said *Elizabeth Canning* has pretended she was confined, and that they are positively assured they did not lay one night out of that room during the whole month of *January* last, which room these deponents say is called the *Work-shop* or *Lumber-room*, and is about seven stairs up from the kitchen; and both these informants say, that they never saw the said *Elizabeth Canning* till the day the said *Mary Squires* and *Susanna Wells* were apprehended; and that the bed which they lay upon was made up out of part of the hay which was in the said room, their

" bolster



“ bolster was a bag of wool, instead of sheeting they made use of a large piece of  
 “ blue cloth, and their covering were a few old sacks; and they further say, that the  
 “ said *Susanna Wells* kept in that room some hay for an old horse she had, and pol-  
 “ lard for her sow, and that she or *Virtue Hall* (who lodged with her) used frequently  
 “ to go into the room for hay for the horse, and daily for pollard for the sow. And  
 “ this informant *Fortune Natus* saith, that in the month of *January* last there was,  
 “ according to the best of his judgment, near half a load of hay in the said room,  
 “ and that he this informant frequently in the month of *January* during the time  
 “ the said *Elizabeth Canning* pretended she was confined in the said house, went  
 “ with the very pitcher to fetch water in, which the said *Elizabeth Canning* pretends  
 “ she had in the said room, during the time she pretended she was confined there.  
 “ And this informant *Judy Natus* also saith, that in the said month of *January* she  
 “ also frequently saw the said pitcher, and that it was in constant use in the family;  
 “ and further, both these informants say, that the said *Mary Squires* did not come  
 “ to lodge at the said *Susanna Wells*’s till about a week and a day before the time of  
 “ their being so apprehended, and that these informants never saw the said *Mary*  
 “ *Squires* before such time as she so came to lodge there; and further these informants  
 “ say, that they were subpcena’d and attended as witnesses at the *Old Bailey*, to have  
 “ given evidence for the said *Mary Squires* and *Susanna Wells* upon their trial, but that  
 “ notwithstanding they shewed their subpcena’s to the people in the *Old Bailey* yard,  
 “ they were used very ill there, assaulted by the mob, and prevented from going  
 “ into Court to give their evidence: And lastly, this informant *Judy Natus* saith, that  
 “ a gentleman now present here, called Mr. *Ezra Whiffin*, some time in the month of  
 “ *January* last, but what day she does not remember, came with the said *Susanna*  
 “ *Wells* into this informant’s said room in the morning, whilst she this informant  
 “ was in bed, to look for part of a sign which was missing, and which was under  
 “ the foot of the bed she lay in.

Taken and sworn (by both the Informants)  
 the day and year first above written,  
 at my Mansion-house in London be-  
 fore me,

Crisp Gascoyne, Mayor.

The mark of  
 W  
 Fortune Natus.  
 The mark of  
 +  
 Judy Natus.

The information of *Ezra Whiffin*, of *Endfield* in the county of *Middlesex*,  
 Innholder, taken upon oath this 12th day of *March*, 1753, before me Sir  
 Crisp Gascoyne, Knt. Mayor of the city of *London*.

“ THIS informant saith he very well remembers that in the morning of the 13th  
 “ of *January* last, he this informant was at the house of *Susanna Wells* (now a  
 “ convict in *Newgate*) situate at *Endfield-Wash*, in order to fetch away part of the  
 “ arm belonging to a sign, called the *Crown*, which he had bought of her some time  
 “ before; and that he and the said Mrs. *Wells* that morning went up into a room  
 “ belonging to the said house, called the workshop or lumber-room, the entrance  
 “ into which is from the kitchen, and is about seven stairs from it; and saith, that  
 “ they found that part of the sign in the said room underneath the foot of a hay-  
 “ bed which was in the said room, and in which bed one *Judy Natus*, now present  
 “ here, and who lodged in the said house, was at the same time.”

Taken and sworn the day and year first  
 above written, at my Mansion-house in  
 London, before me,

Crisp Gascoyne, Mayor.

*Ezra Whiffin*.



*The information of Elizabeth Long, wife of Richard Long, of Endfield, in the county of Middlesex, husbandman, taken upon oath this 12th day of March 1753, before me Sir Crisp Gascoyne, Knt. Mayor of the city of London.*

“ THIS informant on her oath saith, that she is the daughter of *Susanna Wells*, a  
 “ convict in *Newgate*, and that she lived near her said mother’s at *Endfield Wash*,  
 “ that she used almost daily to go and see her said mother, and that she particularly  
 “ remembers the time that *Mary Squires* (also a convict in *Newgate*) her son and  
 “ two daughters came to her said mother’s to lodge there; and further saith, that  
 “ her said mother and the said *Mary Squires* were taken up on a *Thursday*, and that  
 “ it was on the *Wednesday* se’nnight before that day, when the said *Mary Squires*  
 “ her son and two daughters came first to lodge there, and that she this informant  
 “ never saw them before; and saith, that she well knows *Fortune Natus* and *Judith*  
 “ his wife, who lodged at her said mother’s about nine or ten weeks before she was  
 “ so apprehended, and that during that time the said *Fortune Natus* and his wife lay  
 “ in the room called the lumber-room or workshop, the entrance to which is from  
 “ the kitchen and is about seven stairs distance from it, and is the very room in  
 “ which *Elizabeth Canning* has pretended she was confined; and saith, that in the  
 “ month of *January* last she this informant was very frequently in the said room;  
 “ and further saith, that her said mother used to keep hay for her horse, and pol-  
 “ lard to feed her sow with, in that said room; and lastly, this informant saith, that  
 “ she never saw the said *Elizabeth Canning* before the said day her mother was  
 “ apprehended.”

*Taken and sworn the day and year first  
 within written, at my Mansion-house in  
 London, before me,*

Elizabeth Long.

Crisp Gascoyne, Mayor.

*The information of Mary Larney, of Endfield, in the county of Middlesex, taken upon oath this 13th day of March, 1753, before me Sir Crisp Gascoyne, Knt. Mayor of the city of London.*

“ THIS informant saith, that on the *Wednesday* se’nnight before the time of *Mary*  
 “ *Squires*’s (now a convict in *Newgate*) being taken up, she came to this infor-  
 “ mant’s house to buy some bread and small-beer, and that afterwards till the time  
 “ of her being taken up, she, her son and two daughters often came to this infor-  
 “ mant’s house to buy such chandlery-goods as she could supply ’em with—that  
 “ during that time they lodged at the house of *Susanna Wells* at *Endfield-Wash*, which  
 “ is situate almost opposite this informant’s house on the other side of the road; and  
 “ saith, that altho’ the said *Mrs. Wells*’s house is in the full view of this informant’s  
 “ house, yet she this informant never saw the said *Mary Squires*, her son and two  
 “ daughters before the time of the said *Mary Squires*’s so coming to this informant’s  
 “ house in her life; and saith, that if they had been at the said *Mrs. Wells*’s for  
 “ any considerable time before, this informant believes she must have seen ’em, and  
 “ saith that she never heard nor does she believe that the said *Mary Squires*, her son  
 “ and daughters were at the said *Mrs. Wells*’s before the time above-mentioned;  
 “ and further saith, that she knows *Fortune Natus* and his wife, and that she believes  
 “ they lodged at the said *Mrs. Wells*’s for about nine or ten weeks before the time  
 “ of the said *Mary Squires*’s being so apprehended.

*Taken and sworn before me the 13th day  
 of March, 1753, at my Mansion house,  
 London,*

Crisp Gascoyne, Mayor.

*The mark of*

ⓑ

Mary Larney.



Many other persons also came voluntarily before me from the same place, offering accumulated proof of the same truth, but I thought it unnecessary.

These witnesses were also examined in the presence of the Girl's friends, in the like candid and public manner; and notwithstanding the most strict and separate examinations, they not only confirmed each other, but also the accounts of *Virtue Hall* and *Susanna Wells*, in every circumstance.—Yet Canning's friends were still pleased to doubt.

Upon a strict enquiry into the credit of these witnesses, there appeared no reason to doubt their veracity.—I can speak more particularly as to the characters of Mr. *Whiffin* and *Fortune Natus*, several persons of unquestionable integrity having assured me, that they were very honest, sober and industrious men.—

If *Natus* and his wife did not lay in this room, where else did they lay? The contrary never appeared.

If *Exra Whiffin* was not in this room on the 18th of *January*, or did not see *Judith Natus* there, what could induce him to swear it? His regard for public justice, thro' the prejudice of the times, has almost proved the poor man's ruin.

When *Judith Natus* was before me, she declared, that she was at Mr. *Fielding's* at the same time with *Virtue Hall*, that she herself also was examined, and gave the same account then she did now.

This fact is beyond all question; Mr. *Fielding* himself says, that “ \* *Judith Natus* being examined upon her oath before him, declared that she and her husband lay in the same room, “ where *Elizabeth Canning* pretended to have been confined, “ during the whole time of her pretended confinement; and “ declared that she had never seen or heard of any such person “ as *Elizabeth Canning* in *Wells's* house.”

What reason there was to prefer the account of *Canning*, improbable and unconfirmed as it was, to the probable account first offered by *Virtue Hall*, and confirmed by *Judith Natus*, I cannot comprehend.

If *Virtue Hall's* examination had been taken, as she would have freely given it; if no threats had been used to frighten her; if Mr. *Fielding* himself had prepared her information, or perhaps had only been present when it was prepared, the troubles, which ensued, could not have happened.

What

\* Vid. Mr. FIELDING's *Clear State of Canning's Case*, fol. 47.



What could this Girl say to prevent her being prosecuted, but what she did say?

At this time the two men, who had been sent for from *Abbotsbury*, arrived, bringing testimonials of their characters from the Rev. Mr. *Harris*—they were conducted to *Newgate* to see the Convict, where, as they who attended informed me, they conversed with her for some time as one whom they perfectly well knew; and upon their return they were separately, and publicly examined in the presence of a large assembly of gentlemen (the Girl's friends being present) and made the following informations:

*The information of Melchizedeck Arnold of the town of Abbotsbury, in the county of Dorset, Blacksmith, taken upon oath this 13th day of March, 1753, before me Sir Crisp Gascoyne, Knt. Mayor of the city of London.*

“ **T**HIS informant on his oath saith, that he is upwards of forty years of age, was born in, and always lived at *Abbotsbury*, and that he was applied to last Saturday, at *Abbotsbury* by the Reverend Mr. *Harris*, minister of that place, to come up to *London* to see one *Mary Squires* an old gypsey-woman (now a convict in *Newgate*) and to give his evidence concerning what he knows of her, and saith, that he this morning accordingly went to *Newgate* to see her, and he positively saith, that he saw the said *Mary Squires* with her son *George*, and *Lucy* her daughter, at the house or public inn kept by *John Gibbons* called by the name of the *Ship* in *Abbotsbury* aforesaid, on Monday the first day of *January* last, new-style; and saith, that that very evening he, this informant, played upon the violin to some young men and woman who were innocently dancing in the said house, of which number were the said *George* and *Lucy Squires*; and saith, that the same evening he saw the said *Mary Squires* sitting at the kitchen fire there, and saith, that on Saturday the sixth day of the said month of *January* being twelfth-day in the evening there was another match of dancing at the said house, and that the said *George* and *Lucy Squires* were of that party, and that he, this informant also then played to them, and that he remembers *Mary Squires* that evening sat by the fire in the same room where the young company were dancing. And this informant also saith, that at several other times in that week he saw the said *Mary Squires*, and her said son and daughter, in *Abbotsbury*; and saith, that he knows the said *John Gibbons*, and also *William Clarke* of *Abbotsbury* aforesaid, cordwainer, and that they are persons of good character, and he verily believes they would not on any account give false evidence. And lastly, this informant further saith, that he has heard the certificate and affidavit hereunto annexed read, purporting to be an affidavit made by six persons of *Abbotsbury*, and a certificate of sixteen persons of *Abbotsbury* aforesaid, proving and certifying that *Mary Squires*, *George* her son, and *Lucy* her daughter were at *Abbotsbury* aforesaid on the said first day of *January*, and that they continued there nine days; and this informant on his own oath further saith, that the said *Mary Squires* therein named, and the said *Mary Squires* the convict in *Newgate* is one and the same person; and saith, that he, this informant well knows all the persons so proving and certifying the same, and that they are all persons of good credit; and this informant saith, that the inhabitants in general who reside in the said town of *Abbotsbury* can testify the same, as he verily believes.

*Taken and sworn at my Mansion-House in London,  
the day and year first written, before me  
Crisp Gascoyne, Mayor.*

Melchizedeck Arnold.

\* The Certificate and Affidavit before incerted.



*The information of John Ford of Abbotsbury in the county of Dorset, Carpenter and Shop-keeper, taken upon oath this 13th day of March, 1753, before me Sir Crisp Gascoyne, Knt. Mayor of the city of London.*

“ **T**HIS informant saith, that he is thirty nine years of age, and has lived for many years at *Abbotsbury* aforesaid, and that he was applied to by the Rev. Mr. *Harris* minister of *Abbotsbury* aforesaid, to see *Mary Squires* an old gypsey-woman (now a convict in *Newgate*) and to testify what he knows concerning her; and saith, that he accordingly this morning went into *Newgate* to see her, and saith, that he has known the said *Mary Squires* and her son and daughter *George Squires* and *Lucy Squires* these three years past, and saith, that on *Monday* the first day of *January* last, new-stile, he saw the said *Mary Squires*, her said son and daughter at the ship at *Abbotsbury* which is kept by this informant's nephew *John Gibbons*, which house is opposite to this informant's, and this informant almost daily frequents that house, and particularly remembers that in the evening of the said new-year's day there was a party of dancing in that house, and that the said *George* and *Lucy Squires* were of that party, and that he, this informant saw Mr. *Melchizedeck Arnold* of *Abbotsbury* play upon the violin to them, and the same evening saw the said *Mary Squires* sitting by the kitchen fire, and that till the *Tuesday* se'nnight following he saw the said *Mary Squires* and her children there several times, on which *Tuesday* they left the said town; and saith, that he, this informant sells bread, tobacco, and divers other goods, and they used frequently to come to his shop and buy things of him during such their stay in *Abbotsbury*. And further, this deponent saith, that he also knows *William Clarke* of *Abbotsbury*, cordwainer, and that he and the said *John Gibbons* are persons of good character, and he verily believes they would on no account give false evidence. And lastly saith, that he has heard the certificate and affidavit hereunto annexed read purporting to be an affidavit made by six persons, and a certificate of sixteen persons of *Abbotsbury* aforesaid, proving and certifying the said *Mary Squires*, and her said two children's being at *Abbotsbury* on the said first day of *January*, and their continuance there nine days, and saith, that the said *Mary Squires* in the said affidavit and certificate named and the said *Mary Squires* a convict in *Newgate* is one and the same person. And lastly saith, that he, this informant well knows all the persons so proving and certifying the same, and that they are all persons of good credit. And lastly, this informant saith, that the said *Mary Squires* and her two children's having been at *Abbotsbury* for the time aforesaid, is well known to almost all the inhabitants of that town.

*Taken and sworn at my Mansion-House in London, the day and year first written, before me*  
Crisp Gascoyne, Mayor.

John Ford.

Will it be said these men declared falsely? what could be their inducement? they were honest and disinterested, they desired no profit from their journey, and were intire strangers to me.

It may be now justly asked, how came it that all were not satisfied?

I could explain the reasons why, but I forbear to inflame—I would not unnecessarily throw any reproach upon the authors of my own sufferings.

But facts must be stated.

Though the Convict's innocence appeared to a demonstration, the Girl's friends still doubted.

They questioned the veracity of these men, and not only they, but the whole town of *Abbotsbury* (because the greatest part of its

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inha-



inhabitants could prove the gypsey's having been there) were stigmatized as thieves and smugglers—there was not a man of credit amongst them—the very clergyman, a gentleman of as fair and honourable character as ever lived, was joined in the slander; and hardly the \* attestation of a nobleman of particular honour, who personally knew him, could rescue him from the censure.

As to myself, whatever the tongue of insolence and falsehood could invent was thrown upon me:

And from this moment it became criminal to question the guilt of *Squires*, or the truth of *Canning*.

With these proofs I waited upon the Lord Chancellor and laid before him my whole conduct—and it was no small satisfaction to me, that his Lordship approved of my proceedings.

Till all this evidence appeared, although certain of the Convict's innocence I had not been quite convinced of the Girl's guilt.

Though the charge against *Squires* was false, I was willing to think there might possibly be something in the story, though aggravated to extravagance and folly in the relating;

But after all these proofs were taken, there was no room to retain the least favourable thought—humanity itself could no longer plead for her—'twas plain the whole was a contrivance, a most wicked and cruel falsity.

The great question, with respect to my conduct, is, whether I should have stopped here, or proceeded?

This, as all other matters that concern myself, I do most readily, Gentlemen, submit to Your opinion, and for the guidance of Your judgment, permit me to lay open my whole heart, and to give You all my reasons.

Before me was a Criminal, guilty in the same degree in which the Accused was innocent; the question was, whether I should direct her to be brought to justice, or let her escape unpunished?

No one surely will say, that the detection of such an imposture is not of the last consequence to public security.

In the present case the difficulty and the danger of a prosecution seemed to render a prosecution still more necessary.

A faction was formed to disarm the magistrate, and to place this Girl above the reach of law.

I am sorry to add, it was too evident to me and to many others, that at the head of this faction were those, who believed this Girl an impostress, and yet continued to protect her, only in opposition to me.

What

\* A Letter from a noble lord to Mr. *Fielding*.



What I did my heart told me, my duty and my station required.

You never could intend that the chief magistrate, appointed by Yourself, should upon any occasion suffer guilt to be screened by faction, or crimes like her's to pass with impunity.

When the sword of justice shall cease to be the ensign of authority, it will cease to be the ensign of honour.

In these sentiments, Gentlemen, I was not singular. Many wise and good men were of the same opinion; they saw the necessity of a prosecution, and saw too that unless I directed it none would, and they thought it a piece of justice which I owed to myself, and to the high office I bore, to the honour of the city of *London*, and to the vindication of the laws of my country.

To all this I own something was added with respect to myself. A man's duty to his country is the first consideration, but that which regards himself only is not to be quite neglected.

If he owes his services in an important office to his constituents and to the public, he owes also his example. The justification of my conduct from the numberless reproaches it was exposed to, I felt as some motive, but it was the least.

Had I stopped here, what had become of the enquiry? Public justice had been but half vindicated, guilt had not been at all punished, the Criminal would have been supposed innocent, and the Royal Mercy would have been arraigned; for this is an age in which men stop at no indecency; and, with regard to myself, I must have remained under an insuperable load of obloquy, for having so far done my duty, because I had not discharged the whole of my duty.

Upon these considerations I directed a warrant to apprehend her; but at the same time that notice should be sent to her friends, and on their appearance moderate bail was taken.

In all this, I hope, I acted, in a manner becoming the great trust You reposed in me.

This necessary step to bring the Girl to justice, and in which I had the satisfaction to be justified by very great opinions, was resented by those, who called themselves her friends, in so very extraordinary a manner, that from that moment they seemed determined to pursue every method in their power, without the least regard to their own characters, to decency or law, in order to protect her from punishment, or rather to prevent her imposture from being discovered to the world.

Advertisements for evidence (the parent of false evidence) were published in the daily papers, affidavits were taken, *privately taken*, and, in consequence, prosecutions for perjury, before unthought of, were actually set on foot against the three innocent countrymen—not their acquittal only warrants my calling them



them so, for it will appear the prosecutors themselves THEN *knew them to be innocent.*

These extraordinary steps obliged me to take some further informations, for the security of the Convict's life, (whose pardon was strongly opposed) for the better manifestation of the guilt of her accuser, and for the justification of my own conduct.

Soon after the trial three worthy citizens, then unknown to me, and who at first had acted as friends to the Girl, voluntarily came and offered (whenever it should be thought necessary) the evidence contained in their following information,

*The informations of Gawen Nash of London Goldsmith, John Hague of London Goldsmith, and Edward Aldridge of London Goldsmith, taken upon oath this 23d day of March 1753, before me Sir Crisp Gascoyne, Knt. Mayor of the City of London.*

“ THE informant *Gawen Nash* saith, that upon the 31st day of *January* last upon  
 “ reading the public news papers, and therein the representation of the case of  
 “ *Elizabeth Canning*, this informant went to Mr. *Edward Lyon* a carpenter in *Alder-*  
 “ *manbury* ( an acquaintance of this informant's ) with whom the said *Elizabeth Can-*  
 “ *ning* had lived as a servant, to enquire into the truth of it, and from the account he  
 “ then received of it, this informant giving credit to it, voluntarily offered his service  
 “ and assistance to bring the offenders to justice, and for this purpose this informant and  
 “ several other persons attended the said *Elizabeth Canning* to *Guild-Hall* where she  
 “ gave an account of the affair to the then sitting Alderman (Mr. Alderman *Chitty*)  
 “ and declared upon her oath that mother *Wells* (for so she called her) had robbed her;  
 “ upon which a warrant was granted for apprehending her, and saith, that upon that  
 “ worthy magistrate's asking her to describe the room she said she had been confined in,  
 “ she declared that it was a little square dark room, the windows whereof were nailed  
 “ up with boards, and that there was an iron grate in the chimney in which she found  
 “ an old bed-gown, and that there were a few old pictures over the chimney; and fur-  
 “ ther she then declared that she knew where she had been confined by seeing the  
 “ *Hertford* stage-coach go by, which she said she saw through the cracks of the window  
 “ boards, but she gave no description of any hay, and many other remarkable things  
 “ herein after-mentioned which were found in the room. And these informants, the  
 “ said *Nash*, *Hague*, and *Aldridge* say, that on the 1st day of *February* last they, and  
 “ the said *Edward Lyon*, went in a coach to *Enfield* in order to have the said Mrs. *Wells*  
 “ brought to justice, and to view the room to see how far the description thereof an-  
 “ swered the account given by the said *Elizabeth Canning* (and which description the  
 “ informants *Hague* and *Aldridge* say, they, the day before, had an account of from  
 “ the other informant *Nash*.) And further, all the three informants say, that they  
 “ went over the house to see if they could find any room answering the description of  
 “ the room so given by the said *Elizabeth Canning*, but could not find any one at all  
 “ answering it. And further, these informants say, that about an hour afterwards the  
 “ said *Elizabeth Canning* came down there in a chaise attended with a great number of  
 “ persons, but before her arrival there one *Addison* (as these informants believe his name  
 “ is) who had been in the house, and saw there was a great quantity of hay in the room  
 “ called the workshop or lumber-room, went to meet the chaise, and afterwards came  
 “ riding back in a hurry, cried out we are all right, she says there is a little hay in the  
 “ room. And these informants say, that after such her arrival at the said Mrs. *Well's*  
 “ house, she was taken into a room where the said Mrs. *Wells*, *Mary Squires* (the Convict)  
 “ her two daughters, *Judy Natus*, and several other women were present, and after  
 “ some short time there the said *Elizabeth Canning* pitched upon the said *Mary Squires*  
 “ to be the person that cut her stays off, upon which the said *Mary Squires* (who is a  
 “ very antient woman, and one of the most remarkable persons they ever saw) came  
 “ up to her, and in a very great surprize, and with all the appearance of innocence,  
 “ said,



" said, *What, I robbed you, madam ! if you had ever seen me, you must have described me,*  
 " *God has made me so very remarkable ;* and thereupon the poor old woman pointed to  
 " her large under-lip, the remarkable features of her face, and to the king's-evil which  
 " had greatly scarrified the lower part of her face ; and upon her asking the time, and  
 " the said *Elizabeth Canning's* saying New-year's day, the said *Mary Squires* immedi-  
 " ately, and without hesitation, declared she was then above 100 miles off in the coun-  
 " try ; and being asked where, she replied, at *Abbotsbury* beyond *Dorchester* ; and her  
 " son and two daughters confirmed it. After which the said *Elizabeth Canning* was car-  
 " ried about the house to ascertain the room she pretended she had been confined in,  
 " and being in the workshop or lumber-room, she declared that was the room, which  
 " was a light room and a light casement in it, and in which room there was a large  
 " quantity of hay, and an old black, rusty hay-bed ; but there was no grate in the  
 " chimney, and to the best of their judgment they don't believe there had been a grate  
 " in the chimney for several months, for the bottom of the chimney was covered with  
 " old dust and cobwebs, and the cobwebs also were so dispersed about the chimney,  
 " that 'tis impossible a grate could have been in it in the month of *January* to the best  
 " of their observation and belief : and say, that over the chimney there were no pictures,  
 " or any marks to be discovered of any having been there ; and the window casement  
 " of that room was easily to be opened at pleasure. And these informants, the said *Hague*  
 " and *Nash* say, that upon the said *Hague's* asking the said *Elizabeth Canning* how she  
 " came not to go out of the casement, which he pointed to ? she said, she believed it was  
 " nailed, whereupon both these informants very narrowly examined the window frame,  
 " and there was not to be found the least mark or appearance of its having been nailed  
 " or fastened : and these informants say, that there hung a jack line and pulley in the  
 " room, which had a communication with the jack in the kitchen, and there was an  
 " old broken casement upon the chimney ledge, three old saddles, a nest of old fashion-  
 " ed drawers, and a large high tub (in which the informant *Nash* remembers there  
 " was some pollard) and which several things, from the cobwebs and nastiness about  
 " them, had the appearance of being there a considerable time, particularly the casement  
 " upon the chimney ledge, the cobwebs about which joined the wall ; and they say,  
 " upon the said informant *Hague's* asking her if she had seen that casement, the jack  
 " lines, and pulleys, and the saddles there before, she declared she never saw the case-  
 " ment, or jack lines, and pulleys before, but that she believed she had seen one of  
 " the saddles, at which these informants were greatly surprized. And all the informants  
 " say, that *Fortune Natus*, and *Judy* his wife, declared there at that time that they  
 " had laid in that room ten weeks before all but one night, and which *Virtue Hall*, who  
 " was there, confirmed ; and upon the said *Elizabeth Canning's* saying, that *Virtue Hall*  
 " was there when the said *Mary Squires* cut off her stays, she went to the said *Elizabeth*  
 " *Canning* with all seeming innocence, and smiling, said to her, she never saw her before  
 " in her life. And lastly, all these informants say, that although they had embarked  
 " in this affair at their own expence, as friends to public justice, and out of tenderness  
 " to a poor girl whom they believed was injured, yet from the satisfaction they re-  
 " ceived at the said *Mrs. Wells's*, from the appearance of things not at all answering the  
 " description that had been given, they concluded, that the story of the said *Elizabeth*  
 " *Canning* was impossible to be true, that they themselves had been imposed upon, and  
 " therefore they desisted to assist in the prosecution.

Sworn this 23d day of March 1753, at  
 my Mansion-House, London, by all  
 the informants, before me  
 Crisp Gascoyne, Mayor.

Gawen Nash  
 John Hague  
 Edward Aldridge.

What could induce those gentlemen at first to take the part  
 of the Girl, but their persuasion that she had been injured ?  
 What could now move them to take the part of the Convict, but  
 their belief that she was innocent ?

It is impossible they could bear any malice towards the Girl—  
 their characters are above it—besides, the compassion they still



expressed for her, from an apprehension there were others, more guilty, concerned, was a proof of the contrary.—

This information I also communicated to the friends of *Canning*, although it was too evident they were determined not to be convinced, or not to appear so.

The last information, which I took to lay before His Majesty with the report, was *Andrew Wake's*, an Exciseman, whose name was mentioned by *Gibbons* in his testimony upon the trial.

*Gibbons* being then questioned, how he knew it was the first of *January*, when *Squires* came to *Abbotsbury*, answered, that he remembered it was that day, by the particular circumstance of one *Andrew Wake's* having come to his house, and officiated for the Exciseman who was sick.

This *Wake* had been now for some time stationed at *Lewes* in *Sussex*.

I directed an application to be made to the Commissioners of Excise, requesting them to send for *Wake* to *London*.—Those gentlemen, as desirous as myself of public justice, ordered him up to town.

This man had no friendship to sway him, no interest to serve; an accident occasioned his being at *Abbotsbury*, and he was now removed from it.

He also was a new and strong evidence of the Convict's innocence, his account was punctual, and the Excise-books, which were sent for upon that occasion, attested it.

This witness, like the rest, underwent a public and strict examination (*Canning's* friends being present) and made the following information,

*The information of Andrew Wake, supernumerary to Mr. William Wigson, Collector of the Excise at Lewes in Sussex, taken upon oath this 26th day of March, 1753, before me Sir Crisp Gascoyne, Knt. Mayor of the city of London.*

“ THIS informant saith, that by the orders of the Supervisor of *Dorchester* he went  
 “ to *Abbotsbury* the 31st day of *December* last, new-style, being *Sunday*, to officiate for *John Ward* the exciseman there who was ill; and that he, this informant,  
 “ lodged at the house of *John Gibbons* who keeps the *Old-Skip* there, and at which house  
 “ the Excise-office is kept there, on which day he saw a person there who went by the  
 “ name of *George Squires*, who then told this informant that his Mother and Sister were  
 “ at a little village (which he thinks he called *Liton*) about two or three miles off, and  
 “ were expected there in a day or two. And says, that the said *George Squires* that  
 “ night, and for several succeeding nights during his stay there, lay in the same room  
 “ (though not in the same bed) with this informant; and saith, that during his stay  
 “ there, he, this informant, officiated for the said *John Ward* from the first day of  
 “ *January* to the 13th of *January*, both days inclusive. And that during his stay  
 “ there,



“ there, two persons called *Mary Squires* and *Lucy Squires*, (which said *Mary* called the  
 “ said *George* and *Lucy* son and daughter, and they called her mother) came there and  
 “ lodged in the same house. And this informant saith, that his duty calling him out  
 “ very early in the morning, and sometimes having kept him out till late at night,  
 “ he can’t with certainty say what was the particular day of their coming there, but  
 “ is positive it was some day in new-year’s week. And further, this informant saith,  
 “ that during his stay, there were two or three parties of dancing at the said *John Gib-*  
 “ *bons’s* house, at one of which this informant saw the said *George* and *Lucy* dance, and  
 “ a blacksmith, who was a stranger to this informant, played upon the violin to them,  
 “ and the said *Mary Squires* sat that evening by the kitchen fire at the same time—  
 “ and saith also that he knows Mr. *John Ford* a carpenter and shop-keeper there, and  
 “ believes him to be a very honest man: and saith, that he last *Saturday* se’nnight  
 “ being the 17th of March instant, received orders from the said Mr. *William Wigson*  
 “ to go to *London* to attend the Lord Mayor by order of the Commissioners of the  
 “ Excise, and that he arrived in *London* the next day about 11 or 12 o’clock, and that  
 “ about 2 or 3 o’clock in the afternoon of the same day, he, this informant, without  
 “ any directions or notice, went to *Newgate* to see the said *Mary Squires* (a convict there)  
 “ and saith, that she is the same *Mary Squires* above described, and saith, that as soon  
 “ as he saw her he asked her if she knew him, to which she answered, I think you are  
 “ the young man who belonged to the Excise, and who was at *Abbotsbury*; and also  
 “ saith, that upon the *Tuesday* following he went to *Newgate*, and spent half an hour  
 “ with that poor woman, who reminded this informant of several little incidents which  
 “ happened during their stay there, particularly this informant’s being taken ill there  
 “ one evening, and her Son’s lending this informant his great coat. And further  
 “ saith, that during his stay at *Abbotsbury* he sat several evenings at the kitchen fire  
 “ with the said *Mary, George* and *Lucy Squires*; and that he, this informant, left *Ab-*  
 “ *botsbury* on the 14th of *January*, and that they left it about two or three days  
 “ before. And this informant saith, that he is the more particular and certain as to  
 “ the times of his this informant’s so coming to and leaving *Abbotsbury* as aforesaid,  
 “ from this informant’s having seen the entries of the proceedings at *Abbotsbury* in the  
 “ books of the Excise, which are of this informant’s hand writing, and are now before  
 “ him, and which he had from the Excise-office in *London* for that purpose. And  
 “ lastly, this informant saith, that he, this informant, on, or about the 7th day of  
 “ *February* last read a new’s-paper to his mother at *Dorchester*, wherein there was some  
 “ account of *Mary Squires* the gypsey-woman being taken up for a robbery, upon  
 “ which this informant in great surprize said to his mother, this can’t be, for this is  
 “ the woman I saw at *Abbotsbury* whilst I was there officiating for Mr. *Ward*.

Taken this 26th day of March 1753, at my }  
 Mansion-House, London, before me, }  
 Crisp Gascoyne, Mayor. }

Andrew Wake.

What could enable this man to confirm all that had been said,  
 but that all which had been said was true?

The patrons of the Girl however still affected to doubt.

While I was enquiring after truth, *Canning’s* friends did not  
 neglect to make their enquiries.

It is very well known what part Mr. *Fielding* took. I am  
 credibly assured, that Mr. *Arbutnot* of *Weymouth* near *Abbotf-*  
*bury*, a gentleman of fortune, in consequence of his request,  
 made enquiry into the truth of the Gypsies having been there,  
 that he was fully satisfied, and received certificates from more  
 than sixty persons of that fact, which were transmitted to  
 Mr. *Fielding*.



I wish Mr. *Fielding*, who had before published so much on this subject, had now obliged the world with the publication of those certificates.

To the other enquiries which had been made by the Girl's friends, and to the great candour of Mr. *Cooper* of *Salisbury*, I am indebted for the following discovery ; which I beg leave to lay before You, not as evidence of the Gypsey's innocence, thinking that unnecessary, but as evidence of their principles.

*To the right honourable the Lord-Mayor of London.*

“ MY LORD,

“ THE enclosed is a copy of the accounts given me by persons of undoubted veracity of *Coombe* this morning, concerning an old gypsey-woman who past through that place the 14th of *January*, and is believed to be the same woman now under condemnation, and in the bearer Mr. *Acreman*'s custody.

“ The occasion of my going to *Coombe* on this business was from a letter I received by the last post from Mr. *John Miles* of *Birchin Lane*, requesting me as he was concerned for *Elizabeth Canning* to send him the best accounts I could get of *Grevill*'s character ; and if any others pretended to have seen *Squires* there.

“ As your Lordship appears from the public papers to have candidly interested Yourself in the discovery of the truth of this matter, I did intend (had not this opportunity by Mr. *Acreman* offered) to have transmitted the inclosed to your Lordship, and if there be any need of the parties being further examined or sworn, I shall be ready to do any thing therein which your Lordship shall request of me, who am,

“ My Lord, with great respect,

“ Your Lordship's most obedient humble servant,

*Salisbury March 31, 1753.*

“ JOHN COOPER.”

“ *Jesse Roberts* (servant to farmer *John Harwood* of *Coombe*) says an old gypsey-woman came to the parish of *Coombe*, Sunday the 14th of *January* last, about two o'clock in the afternoon, to their house (his master's), told his fellow-servants their fortunes, and got money of them : and that he drew her a pint of ale : says she is a very remarkable woman, and he believes about sixty years of age ; rather above the ordinary size in stature, with great lips, and a very odd sort of blacking colour round her mouth and chin.

“ *Richard Armour* (head carter to farmer *John Harwood*) says this old woman (the gypsey) told his fortune with his fellow-servant's, that it was on Sunday the 14th of *January* last : Well knows it was that day, because it was the same day one *Curtis*, a farrier, came over to the parish : says, she got two-pence out of him (viz. *Armour*) and invited him over to *Grevill*'s, at the lamb : where, she said, she quartered ; and told him she had a book there, and could tell him his fortune exactly : says, she is rather stoutish than otherwise, has great thick lips, and an odd reddish colour round her chin ; believes her upwards of fifty years of age.

“ *Robert Merchant* (another servant of farmer *John Harwood*'s) speaks to much the same effect ; and adds, that the old gypsey-woman cheated him out of six-pence ; for which he wishes her hanged : but agrees, in all respects, with his fellow-servants.

“ *Martha Waters* (living with farmer *John Harwood*) says the old gypsey-woman told her her fortune also, and that she gave her money ; and describes her as the old gypsey-woman, who was at *Grevill*'s Sunday the 14th of *January* last.

“ *Ann Whitmarsh* (sister to farmer *John Harwood*) says, she saw the gypsey-woman in the parish, and with her brother's servants, at the time spoken of.



" *Mary Grevill* (the mother of *Thomas Grevill* who gave evidence for *Mary Squires* on her trial) speaks positively to the old gypsy-woman, as above-described, lodging at their house (the *Lamb* in *Coombe*) *Sunday* the 14th of *January* last: and says, she came to their house soon after noon.

" *Mary Grevill* (the daughter) says she lives in the same house, and confirms what the mother says.

" *Note.* Both mother and daughter say the old gypsy-woman had a young man and woman with her.

" All the before-named witnesses say, that if they were to see *Mary Squires*, they should certainly know her at first sight, if she be the old gypsy-woman who came through their parish of *Coombe*.

" Farmer *John Lipps*, the said farmer *John Harwood*, and farmer *William Harwood*, all reputable men, and the principal land-holders in *Coombe*, speak to the good character of *Thomas Grevill* (who was the evidence for *Squires*.)

From the perseverance of *Canning's* friends, I confess I was inclined to doubt whether Mr. *Cooper* had sent Mr. *Miles* these testimonies; I therefore wrote to that gentleman to be informed; his answer, with the further unexpected evidence he sent me, I also insert.

" MY LORD,

" SINCE I sent your Lordship the former account of the testimony collected at *Coombe* concerning the old gypsy-woman, I had an opportunity of taking down some additional evidence on this matter, which I enclose for your Lordship's inspection.

" I am really surprized, that neither Mr. *Fielding* nor Dr. *Hill* suspect that *Elizabeth Canning* might absent herself, to cover the shame of a lying-in; and which, if it were the case, would account for the meagre poor condition she returned in, and the time of her absence.

" I return your Lordship thanks for your good opinion of me: and I shall be ready to assist as far as I can to bring this strange affair to light.

" I am, with due respect,

" Honoured SIR,

*Salisbury 10th April, 1753.*

" Your Lordship's most

" obedient humble servant,

" JOHN COOPER."

P. S. Mr. *Miles* had an exact duplicate of the testimonies sent your Lordship.

" *George Stowell* of the parish of *Honnington* shoe-maker, says, he was at *Grevill's* house, the *Lamb* in *Coombe*, betwixt one and two of the clock, *Sunday* the 14th of *January* last—that he saw in the house an old *Scrow-faced odd-looking* \* woman, should easily know her again—that there were with her a young fellow, who had a tolerable good look; and a young woman: says, he well knows it was the 14th of *January*, because he went to settle accounts in the parish that day, and to pick up some money: and did account with dame *Grevill* that same day.

" *George Lawes* of *Coombe*—says, he was in *Grevill's* house the *Sunday*; saw the old gypsy there: says, she was a *disfigured old woman*, † very remarkable.

" *Joseph Hayter*, says, he saw the old gypsy-woman on the down-coming to *Coombe*.

H

" John

\* The witness's own words.

† The witness's own words.



“ *John Barber* of *Coombe*, Gent. says, that the day *Thomas Grevill* was subpœnaed to attend at *London*, he came with the subpœna to him; and desired his advice, if he was obliged to go; and shewed great unwillingness to go to town about this business: but Mr. *Barber* telling him it was his duty to attend on such an occasion, and obey the subpœna; he went to give his testimony; which Mr. *Barber* believes he gave honestly.

“ Mr. *Joseph Elderton* (an Attorney) came from *London* the 16th of *January* last, in a post-chaize to *Salisbury*; saw about midway, a great many sailors, who said they had been cast away; and they asked relief of him.

What but the force of truth, Gentlemen, could have produced so much unfought-for evidence?—Mr. *Cooper* was a stranger to me, I have not yet the pleasure of his acquaintance.

But after *such evidence*, what part should *Canning's* friends have taken? of that You will judge; I will only inform You of their actions. THEY STILL PROTECTED THE GIRL—PROSECUTED THE THREE COUNTRYMEN, AND THIRSTED AFTER THE CONVICT'S BLOOD.

The time now drawing near for the report of the convicts, I thought it my duty to lay the foregoing evidence before His Majesty, accompanied with the following Memorial,

“ TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY,

“ MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY to permit Your dutiful subject the Mayor of your faithful city of *London*, with the most profound humility and respect, to represent to Your Majesty, that before the trial of *Mary Squires* for the robbery of *Elizabeth Canning*, and of *Susanna Wells* as accessary, many unfair representations were printed and dispersed, which could not fail to excite public prejudice against them.

“ The fatal consequence whereof, in depriving those unhappy wretches of a material part of their evidence, appears from the informations now laid before Your Majesty—and is a melancholy truth well known.

“ Those proceedings, together with the improbability of the charge, and the contrariety of the evidence, engaged me from the \* high station I have the honour to bear, to express my duty to Your Majesty, and the public, by making this enquiry.

“ In which the utmost caution has been observed—all the witnesses have been strictly, separately, and publicly examined, and their credit well certified.

“ Many other informations, to the same effect, have been offered; but I declined troubling Your Majesty with further evidence, as humbly apprehending it totally unnecessary.

“ In the course of this enquiry, *Virtue Hall*, a principal witness, voluntarily and publicly retracted the whole of the evidence she gave upon the trial.

“ To this I presume, by Your Majesty's leave to add, that amidst all the examinations I have taken, there has not appeared any variation or inconsistency, or the least circumstance or suspicion, that could lead me to doubt the innocence of those unhappy convicts.

“ All which is humbly submitted to Your Majesty's great wisdom and judgment, by

“ Your Majesty's faithful subject,

“ CRISP GASCOYNE, Mayor.”

\* The Lord-mayor of *London* is always the first commissioner named in the commissions of Oyer and Terminer for the city of *London*, and goal-delivery of *Newgate* for *London* and *Middlesex*, consequently is the supreme magistrate of the court.



On the 10th of *April* the report was accordingly made, when His Majesty was graciously pleased to respite the execution of the Convict for six weeks, and to refer the consideration of the evidence on both sides (for evidence *against* her had been presented) to His Attorney and Solicitor-General.

While this reference was depending, the Girl's agents (*uniform* in their pursuit) obtained warrants against the Countrymen, upon a *suspicion* of perjury; and in order to give an eclat to their proceedings and to strike terror, *Canning's* attorney, with the assistance of three other persons, armed in a very extraordinary manner, went down to *Abbotsbury*.

They arrived there the 20th of *April*, without the least difficulty took *Gibbons* and *Clarke*, and carried them to *Dorchester*: where *Gibbons* was discharged on account of a *Misnomer* in the warrant.

But as to *Clarke*, though he was ready to give bail, the justices *could not* take it, there being no place assigned in the warrant where the *suspected* perjury was supposed to have been committed; consequently no jurisdiction stated, at which the justices could bind him over to appear; therefore he, poor fellow! was conducted, under this strong guard, to *London*, there confined two nights in the *same* attorney's house, and then bailed for his appearance at the ensuing Session.

Why were these men prosecuted? because *Canning* was prosecuted. Why had not I notice of these warrants? they would have appeared voluntarily.

In the *April* Sessions an indictment was preferred against *Canning* for perjury; and at the same Sessions, her friends (though possessed of such abundant evidence of their innocence) preferred *cross* bills of indictment against the three Country witnesses, accusing them of perjury upon the trial.

The consequence of this was, all the bills were rejected. This, no doubt, *Canning's* friends aimed at; in this they succeeded—they triumphed at the event.—

But supposing the three men guilty, and *Canning* innocent, where was the cause of their triumph?

I own this event gave me concern—and I was far from thinking an indictment less proper than before. Whatever is once right is always right: and the same motives which induced me to have this first bill preferred, obliged me to prefer another at the ensuing Session—but upon further evidence.



It was impossible all could be innocent, guilt must lie somewhere, and it was highly proper it should be brought to light, and punished.

The Attorney and Solicitor General having now made their report, with their opinion, that the weight of the evidence was in the Convict's favour, His Majesty was graciously pleased to grant her a free pardon.

The alledged robbery, attended with such terrible circumstances, was a crime which all His Majesty's humanity could not have pardoned. With that paternal affection to his subjects, which has made him more than in name the Father of his people, He remembers himself also their Judge, and pity sometimes must yield to justice.

Here without question it must have yielded, and this most injured Woman suffered, had not the case now presented itself in a new light.

After this, I flattered myself *Canning's* friends would have acquiesced, but I was deceived—they still persisted in their advertisements for evidence, declaring that they had fresh proofs *continually* coming in of her innocence.

In the *June* Session all the bills were again preferred ;—but the success was different, all of 'em (to the general satisfaction of the unprejudiced) being found.

That you may judge of the true motives of prosecuting the three Countrymen, I beg leave to remind you, that soon after these bills were found—a printed case was universally distributed by the friends of *Canning*, and afterwards published in the newspapers, declaring their unwillingness to have these causes tried till after the 9th of *November*, meaning when my MAYORALTY would expire.

In that Case is the following sentence :

“ *Just before* the Session in *June*, *Canning's* friends were *in-*  
 “ *formed* another bill would be preferred against *her* at that Ses-  
 “ sions, as it was ; and they THEREFORE were advised again to  
 “ prefer bills against the *Gypsey's Witnesses*.

The bills being now found, it was my earnest desire, as I had the honour to preside in the court where they were depending, that they should be removed :

Not that I distrusted my own conduct, or the impartiality of this court ; but as I had suffered from the tongues of malice, I wished to satisfy all men.



The friends of *Canning* desired the same, fearing, or pretending to fear, my influence or partiality.

If this High Court of Justice did not escape their reflections, how could I expect it?

It being now the intention of all parties, that the causes should be removed into the *King's-Bench*; an agreement in writing was prepared by the solicitors, and approved of by Mr. *Masterman* (as clerk in court for *Canning*) and Mr. *Smith* (as clerk in court for the Three men); but this proposal, for several good reasons, though such as would ill become me to relate, was afterwards found impracticable.

Though this event gave me great concern, and ought by no means to be imputed to me; yet, even from thence, *Canning's* friends took occasion to load me with further reproaches.

Was it proper, I could appeal to several great personages, that I was not the cause of it.—Mr. *Masterman* himself, was it necessary, I make no question, would do me that justice.

During this transaction, the Three Countrymen stayed in *London* to wait the event; and upon the first notice that the causes could not be removed they appeared, and put in bail before the present Lord-Mayor and Mr. Alderman *Chitty*, for their appearance at the ensuing Session.

With this conduct of the Countrymen, let us compare that of the other side.

Notice was sent to *Canning's* friends for her to appear, but she did not; warrants were made out, but she withdrew; she fled from justice—she was not to be taken.

Though *Canning* was concealed, her friends well knew her *guilt* could not remain so, if the Three Countrymen were tried—How to prevent it, was the question—You shall now see to what shifts they were reduced.

Upon the last day of *Trinity-term* they caused the court of *King's-Bench* to be moved for *Certiorari's*, to remove the indictments against the Three men.

But as the Girl had not yet appeared to the indictment against her, and as this step was manifestly calculated for oppression and delay; oppression of the innocent, and the delay of what a million were eager to see explained, the motion was opposed—it was denied by the court.

Here (for a *reason*, which will hereafter appear) it is proper to mention, that the late Lord Chief Justice was not then present.



In the *July* sessions the Three men appeared according to their recognizances, pleaded to their indictments, and put in bail again, to take their trial at the next session.

This is the behaviour of the honest, they have nothing to fear, to innocence all arts and subterfuges are infamous ; all delays indications of guilt.

The *September* session now draws near—— the Country-men are preparing for their trial, but she still absconds ; her friends did not chuse she should be tried, but contrived, *secretly contrived*, by every means in their power, to prevent their trial also.

The *same* motives which urged them to conceal *her* guilt, urged them to conceal *their* innocence.

On the other hand, the defendants, to shew their fairness, (unnecessarily) gave notice of trial to their prosecutors, that they might be ready, or that they might be left without excuse.

After this notice and a solemn preparation for trial, none doubted but it would come on ; there could be no reason for doubting it ; the prosecutors had not given the slightest intimation, to the contrary.

Towards the close of the session the day of trial came ; but what came with it ? not that open accusation that had been expected, but, instead of that, three writs of *Certiorari* for removing these indictments, into that very court which had before refused them, were now produced.

The court were surprized ! all present were astonished !

The person who brought them was asked by what means he came by them, and how they were obtained——his answer was, he received them from Mr. *Miles*, a distiller ; but he knew *nothing* further.

The Judges, dissatisfied with this account, proceeded upon the trials ; upon which I withdrew, having always determined and publicly declared, that I would not preside in the court while those causes were tried.

The trials now came on, and all the witnesses upon the indictments were three times called, but only one of them answered ; and she, poor woman, being sworn, declared she knew nothing of the matter.

It being the desire of the defendant's council that they should (if possible) be acquitted upon evidence, the prosecutors were sent for by the court, but not one of them appeared ; the Defendants were therefore acquitted, without calling one of their fifty witnesses,



witneffes, who attended at a great expence; and an *inquiry* was directed by the court, *how those writs had been obtained?*—

How *that* was, permit me, Gentlemen, briefly to relate, as that matter has made a great noise in the world.

Altho' the court of *King's-Bench* had refused those writs, application was made to Mr. *Masterman* to make them out; but that gentleman too well knew his duty, and the respect due to the solemn judgment of that supreme court.

This attempt having proved fruitless, they applied to Mr. *Athorpe's* clerk (in that gentleman's absence) for *one writ* to remove one of the indictments only.

This clerk, *unacquainted* with what the court had determined, very innocently prepared it, and applied to the Lord Chief Justice (as a matter of course) to sign the *fiat*.

His Lordship, *uninformed* that it related to one of the writs the court had refused, signed it accordingly.

Having *so far* succeeded, his Lordship's hand was by the *same means*, and on the *very day* the trials were to come on, obtained to the *two other fiats*.

You will demand, perhaps, Gentlemen, why was this double trouble, this double application, when one trouble might have served?

You are not in the secret of *such* actions.

Had the *three fiats* been brought to his Lordship all together, the number might have created *suspicion*, (as 'tis more than probable, his Lordship might have been informed of the determination of the court)—the hopes of success depended on the *deception*.

Does any require proof of this, it may be had.

Tho' the late Lord Chief Justice is not living to declare himself, yet there are those of unquestioned credit, who had the honour of frequently being near his person, who have heard his Lordship often declare, he would not, *knowingly*, have signed these *fiats*.

Tho' these writs did not prevent the Three men's acquittal, yet *Canning's* friends from thence framed an excuse (such as it was) for producing no witneffes against them upon their trial; and thereby robbing them of the opportunity of manifesting to the world their innocence by evidence.

Those writs also relieved *them* from the necessity of producing *Canning* as a witness, and thereby subjecting her to a cross examination, *too dangerous* to be risked.

All



All this time the indictment against *Canning* was depending, writs upon writs, and warrants upon warrants, were made out to apprehend her, but she was not to be found ; at length every necessary step, even to the exigent and proclamation, was taken to outlaw her.

She was publicly proclaimed at her Parish Church, upon the Hustings at *Guildhall*, and at the Quarter-sessions, and her outlawry almost perfected ; and then in the *February* Session, but not before, she appeared, pleaded, and gave bail to take her trial at the ensuing Session.

I shall now, Gentlemen, lay before You the conduct I observed in the further prosecution of *Canning*.

The repeated advertisements published by her friends for evidence, the dangerous tendency of such invitations to perjury, the influence those temptations *already* had over the minds of the weak and the wicked, and the prejudice which still prevailed in her favour, would not suffer me, in a matter of such general concern to public justice, and of such moment to myself, to rest the charge upon the evidence already disclosed ; especially as the notoriety of the principal facts, necessary to be proved, would so easily afford still more abundant testimonies.

And as experience demonstrated that the methods *Canning's* friends were pursuing, were likely to furnish them with some sort of evidence to encounter any facts, however obviously true, they should be apprized of, it became highly proper for me to act with reserve ; and the more so, as they had never communicated to me any part of their testimonies, or any of their intentions.

My first purpose therefore (uncommunicated to them) was to prove more fully the *alibi* of the Gypsey.

For this end, Mr. *Willis*, of *Dorchester* (happening to be in *London*) was so obliging, as, upon his return into the country, to take *George Squires* with him, in order to ascertain the places, he, his mother and sister had quartered at between *Abbotsbury* and *London*, and their three last stages before their arrival at *Abbotsbury*.

It may be reasonably asked, why all this trouble ? Could not *Squires* or his sister inform me ? they could not, and I wondered at it, they could only recollect the names of three or four places.

But whatever evidence this may be of their ignorance, his readiness to accompany Mr. *Willis* to shew him the Places he could not name, was, with me, a most convincing proof of his innocence.



The success of this expedition answered my expectations, and furnished me with ten times more evidence than ever was wanted upon any occasion.

Being thus possessed of further opportunities of illustrating this truth, I ordered their whole rout, as 'twere, from *South-Perrot* to *Endfield* to be proved upon the Trial.

And accordingly about forty witnesses from *South-Perrot*, *Wynyard's Gap*, *Lytton*, *Abbotsbury*, *Portesham*, *Ridgway*, *Dorchester*, *Chettle*, *Martin*, *Coombe*, *Salisbury*, *Basingstoke*, *Brentford*, *Page-Green*, and *Endfield* (besides *Wake* the exciseman) attended, and were separately examined, the Old Woman, her son, and daughter, being present the whole time in court, to be referred to.

Those witnesses (many of whom had known the Old Woman for several years) gave their testimony with that clearness, certainty, and consistency, and with such circumstances to ascertain the time, as proved this fact to the greatest demonstration.

'Tis too much to suppose, Gentlemen, that so many persons inhabiting so many different places, most of them strangers to one another—all of unimpeached characters, and totally disinterested, should unite in such a falsehood.

Here I can't help testifying my great regard for the Rev. Mr. *Harris*, and the Rev. Mr. *Sansbury*, Rector of *Lytton*, for their ready services upon all occasions; but particularly for their generous attendances upon the several trials, in support of the characters of their neighbours.

Notwithstanding the notoriety of the Gypsey's innocence, the irresistible force of all this evidence, and the testimonies to confirm it which *Canning's* friends were possessed of, several persons, thus invited by advertisements, and encouraged by faction, swore, *positively swore*, to their having seen this Gypsey at *Endfield*, at different times, between *Christmas* and the 24th of *January*.

Some pretended to remember the times by written evidence, *but without producing any*; and in one instance, where the written evidence referred to, was said to be in the hands of Mr. *Smithram*, a man of character at *Endfield*, I ordered it to be sent for—Mr. *Smithram* himself produced it, and it proved the very *contrary* of what the witness had attested—she swore she saw the Gypsey at *Endfield* on the 18th of *January*, the written evidence proved it was the 25th—some pretended to have seen her cursorily, and some at great distances—whilst others spoke positively as to the time, yet could not tell whether *Christmas* happened in *June* or *December*; and I don't remember that any two of them spoke to their seeing her at the same time.

Some of these witnesses might be only mistaken; and I wish my charity could plead thus favourably for the rest.



I speak it with concern, several of them were guilty of perjury, and may be easily proved so, even from their own acknowledgments.

But if I am not called upon, for the sake of public justice, to maintain this assertion; 'tis time for me to be at rest.

Having now, Gentlemen, removed, I hope, all suspicion of guilt from the Gypsey, my next purpose was more fully to fix it upon her accuser, by shewing the falsity of her pretended confinement.

As *Canning* was positive in her evidence against *Squires*, it may be asked, Why all this trouble? Did not the innocence of *Squires* necessarily involve in it the guilt of *Canning*?

In any other case but *Canning's*, it might be so—it is too much to impute such a false swearing (attended with such dreadful consequences) to a mistake—such a mistake, to call it one, would be highly criminal and unpardonable.

But in her case, she was protected by a party, and much perjury was dreaded.—Therefore further evidence was required.

After this Girl's pretended return to her mother's, Who was the first *stranger*, that came in to see her? Her near neighbour *Robert Skarrat*.

He asked her, where have you been? “*Some where on the Hertford road, for I saw the Hertford coach pass by.*” How far off? “*About 10 or 11 miles.*” I'll lay a guinea to a farthing, SHE HAS BEEN AT MOTHER WELLS'S: She replied, “*I believe I have, for I heard the name of Wills, or Wells, often mentioned.*”

This appeared upon *Skarrat's* own evidence; 'tis needless to observe upon it.

Here, for a reason that will hereafter appear, 'tis proper to take notice, that *Wells* never kept her *hay* in the room destin'd for *Canning's* prison, when *Skarrat* used to frequent her house.

On the 31st of *January*, *Canning's* mother, with *this stranger*, and several others, accompanied her before Mr. Alderman *Chitty*, at *Guildhall*, where, upon her examination, she gave the following account which was reduced into writing, by that worthy magistrate, and proved upon the trial.



*Minutes taken upon the examination of Elizabeth Canning on the 31st of January, 1753, before Alderman Chitty, at Guild-Hall.*

“ *E*lizabeth Canning swore, that on last *New Year's-Day* as she was returning from her uncle's at *Saltpetre-Bank*, as she came along by the dead wall against *Beth-lam* in *Moorfields*, about or near ten o'clock at night, she was met by two men, who stopped her and robbed her of half a guinea, three shillings, and a half-penny, also her gown from off her back; she struggled and made a noise, and then one of them stopped her mouth with something like a handkerchief, and swore that if she made any noise or resistance they would kill her, and then hit her a blow over the head and stunned her, and forced her along through *Bishopsgate street*, each holding her up under the arms, but did not remember any thing more that passed; and did not come to herself till about half an hour before she came to *Enfield-Wash*, so called, as she has learnt since, to *Wells's* house there, and put her in where were several persons in the room, and they said she must do as they did, and if so, she should have fine cloaths, &c. she said she would not, but would go home, and refused compliance; and then a woman forced her up stairs into a room, and with a case-knife she had in her hand cut the lace of her stays, and took them away; and told her there was bread and water in the said room, and, if she made any noise, would come up immediately and cut her throat; then went out, and locked the door, and never see her, nor any one of them since, till after her escape; which bread was in quantity about a quarter of a peck loaf in pieces, and about three quarters of a gallon of water, or little more, in a pitcher, as she supposed; on which only she subsisted, and a penny minced-pye, till she got away, which was the 29th day, about half an hour after three o'clock to four in the afternoon, and then made the best of her way to town to her mother's, the bottom of *Aldermanbury*. She further said, on enquiry, had no stool all the time, only made a little water—She said there was an old stool or two, an old table, and an old picture over the chimney—two windows in the room, one fastened up with boards, the other part ditto and glass; which latter she made a hole in, by a pane removing, and forced part open and got out on a small shed of boards or pent-house, and so slid down, and jumped on a bank behind the said house, and so got into the road and proceeded to her mother's that night, which was about ten o'clock.”

Mr. Alderman Chitty further attested, that she described the room she said she had been confined in to be a little, square, dark or darkish room—that she made no mention of any bay being in the room, and declared she lay upon the boards.

He likewise added, that she said the number of pieces of bread she found in the room were five or six, and that she left some of the water when she made her escape.

This account of the room being totally different from all the descriptions I had received of it, I ordered a model and plan to be taken of it, and which were produced upon the tryal.

This room runs along the east-side of *Well's* house, and the entrance to it is from the kitchen, by a flight of eight steps, which are cut out of the floor, and are part of the room itself: it is thirty five feet eight inches long, and only nine feet eight inches wide—Its walls are only thin lath and plaster, and of the coarsest kind, so that any part of it may be broken down with the greatest ease; it has no ceiling or covering but the tiles.—

On



On the east-side is an *open casement window*, about three foot from the floor, and nine feet and one inch from the ground, which had *never* been fastened, and is large enough for a lusty man easily to get out of. On the north-side is the window out of which *Canning*, ( when in the room on the 1st of *February* ) pretended she escaped; and about nine yards distant from this window is a common pond for watering of horses, situated in full view of this window, and upon which several persons used to slide during the frost in *January*—and on the west-side of the room there has been for many years a large hole (through which a jack-line had passed) which commands the sight of the whole kitchen.

Besides it was most apparent that there neither was, or ever could have been, *a shed of boards, a penthouse*, or any thing like it under either of the windows.

So remarkable is this room also in other instances, 'tis impossible those, who have once seen it, can ever forget it; 'tis the most insecure prison in the world, and of itself bears strong testimony against *Canning*.

I will not, Gentlemen, mispend your time by comparing the room and its furniture with *Canning's* account before the magistrate; the observations arising from thence are obvious, and cannot possibly escape You.

Mr. Alderman *Chitty* having issued his warrant to apprehend *Wells*, many gentlemen, moved by compassion towards the supposed injured Girl, set out the next day to apprehend her; and afterwards *Canning* herself followed in a chaise accompanied by her Mother.—When they came there, they could not find any room, which at all answered her description. This room, called the hay-loft or work-shop, was the last suspected; neither the room or its contents in any wise agreeing with her account.

It is already \* mentioned that *Scarrat* and *Adamson*, after seeing so much *hay* in this room, tossed up who should go and meet the chaise, and that it fell to *Adamson's* lot.

When the Girl arrived, she was placed in the kitchen for near twenty minutes, *in full view* of this room, the door leading into it being open all the time, yet she appeared totally *unconcerned*, and never pretended she had been confined in it; but on the contrary, *suffered herself to be taken all about the house* in order to pitch upon the place of her confinement.

But this is not all—she fixt upon the *stair-case* of the house to be the *stairs leading to her pretended prison*—to use her own words, "THESE ARE THE STAIRS I WAS PUSHED UP."—All this her

OWN

\* See Mess. *Hague*, *Nash*, and *Aldridge's* Information.



own witnesses admitted, and Mr. *Adamson* acknowledged his surprise at the mistake.

The stair-case of the house directly fronts the street door, is situate between the parlour and the kitchen, has no communication with the hay-loft, is widely remote from the little flight of steps leading into that place, and as unlike it as truth to falsehood.

Besides, as this flight of steps is part of the room itself, how is it possible that a person who had ever been confined there, but for one hour, should in three days after be so very ignorant?

For such ignorance, and for such a mistake, what other reason can be fairly assigned, but that she never had been there before?—

*Canning* being afterwards taken into the hay-loft, (where the hay was) fixed upon that to be the room.

After what had passed I will appeal to the most partial man living, if she could have fixed upon this place, was it not for the circumstance of the hay, though a circumstance neither she or *Skarrat* knew of before.

Upon her trial, *Adamson* (to whose lot it fell to meet the chaize) declared he did not indeed tell her there was hay in the room, but *only asked* her if there was any hay in the room.

In the like manner *Skarrat* and *Adamson* acknowledged upon the trial, that they asked her many other questions concerning the things which were there, but without proposing a single question to her concerning what was not there. Such was the candid method they pursued to come at the truth.

*Canning* having now been in the room only for a few minutes, 'tis amazing how soon her eyes were opened. She was now enabled in her information before Mr. *Fielding* to say she was pushed up a pair of stairs into a *back room* like a *hay-loft*, with a small parcel of *hay* in it, and upon the trial adds, that there were about *five steps* leading into it, and that the *door* is at the *bottom* of the stairs in the *kitchen*.

In the like manner *Canning* having now fixed upon the most remarkable woman in the universe to be the person who had robbed her, in her information before Mr. *Fielding* calls her an *Old Gypsie* woman, a description she never gave before.

How she came to fix upon this Gypsie it is proper to mention, *Wells* being certainly the person intended.

When her friends arrived, all the family were secured in the parlour to wait her coming.

Just before her arrival, *Squires* by some accident took the place *Wells* had just before sat in.—As soon as *Canning* entered the  
L room,



room, she fixed upon *Squires*, and, in the opinion of some, who were there, before she had seen her face: an accident to which *Wells* probably owes her life.

Besides the foregoing circumstances, her various *contradictions* are further evidences against her.

Before Mr. Alderman *Chitty*, she swears "she was robbed by a woman in the room she pretended she was confined in." In her information before Mr. *Fielding*, she swears "she was robbed by an *Old Gypsey* in the kitchen."

Before Mr. Alderman *Chitty*, "that there were five or six pieces of bread only;"—In her information before Mr. *Fielding*, "they are multiplied to twenty-four."

Before Mr. Alderman *Chitty*, that "she left some of the water, when she came away;"—before Mr. *Fielding*, that "she had consumed it all on Friday the 26th of January, and continued till the time of her escape without having any thing to drink;" and upon the tryal of *Squires*, that "she drank the last of it, about half an hour before she escaped."

Thus in that single article is she guilty of a triple contradiction, although it concerned a thing, which must be fresh in her memory, and, if it had ever happened, would have been too strongly imprinted, ever to be defaced; they cannot all be true; which of 'em then shall we receive as true?

Hardships pretended to have been endured, may easily lose their places in the memory; but such, as have really happened, never can.

The last fruits of my enquiry which I shall lay before You on this head of evidence, are the testimonies of the following persons from *Endfield-Wash*, and its neighbourhood.

*John Howit*, a carpenter, the son of *Susanna Wells* by a former husband, proved that he left his tools in the room in question, on the 19th day of January; and that he fetched them out the next day, and then saw *Judith Natus* in bed in that room.

*Sarah Howit*, his sister, proved that she was often in that room in the month of January, and particularly on the 8th of that month was looking out of the little window in the East-side of it with *Virtue Hall*, and saw *Edward Allen*, *Giles Knight*, and *John Larney* in the field behind the house; one of them being lopping a tree there, near the East-window of this room; and that they discoursed with her and *Virtue Hall* for some time as they stood looking out of the window.

*Edward Allen*, *Giles Knight*, and *John Larney* confirmed *Sarah Howit's* evidence, as to the lopping the tree, and the conversation that passed; and in which they were themselves confirmed as to the time by Mr. *John Cantril*, a man of character, who has



has kept an inn just opposite to Mrs. *Wells's* for many years, and gave a public dinner to them and others the following day, and who also proved the carrying the hay into that room in the preceding Autumn.

*Robert White*, proved that he had often been in the kitchen, and seen *Fortune Natus* and his wife several times go into and come out of that room in *January 1753*. And,

*Exra Whiffin's* son proved that he went with his father to fetch the sign-post from *Wells's*, and confirmed his father's account, particularly as to the time ; which was also further established by one Mr. *Livingstone*, who, on the 8th of that month, joined with *Whiffin* in a note of hand, which was by agreement to be discharged in 10 or 12 days ; for which purpose *Whiffin* on the 18th was going to *Wormleigh* to borrow money, when he called in his way at *Wells's* for the sign-post, and sent it home by his son.

If You add, Gentlemen, this further parol-evidence to that contained in the Informations before inserted, and to the whole of such evidence all the several circumstances already submitted to You, arising from *Canning's* profound ignorance of the room or its furniture, before her friends had really been there, and from her contradictions already stated, without regard to any others I may trouble You with, can You then draw the least conclusion in her favour ?

Each of these witnesses confirmed the other, and in the whole there was a consistency beyond all invention.

The credit of Mr. *Exra Whiffin* and *Fortune Natus* only was objected to, and those objections served only to add greater force to their testimony.

Mr. *Whiffin* had not examined one third of the gentlemen who attended in support of his character, before *Canning's* own council admitted it to be fully established ; and as to *Natus*, Mr. *Bell*, who keeps the *Four Swans* at *Waltham*, in whose service he has been above a year, attested that he is a very honest industrious fellow, that he never caught him in a lie, nor believed him capable of telling one ; that amongst his seven other servants he wished he had his equal, and that he raised his wages from 3s. 6d. per week to 7s. from his approbation of his behaviour.

In order, however, to shew that she was taken down to *Endfield* on the first of *January*, *Canning's* friends produced one of the *Stamford-hill* Turnpike-men, but no other witness ; he swore that “ some day in the fore-end of *January* between 10 and  
 “ 11 o'clock at night, but what day he could not tell, as he was  
 “ standing at the Turnpike, he saw, by the light of a lamp,  
 “ a woman walking along between two men, one before her and  
 “ the



“ the other behind, and that the man before her had hold of  
 “ one of her arms—that she *cried* and *sobbed* very much, and  
 “ that she had on a *light-coloured gown*, and an *apron*.”—Of  
 all the women living it is impossible this could be *Canning*.

In the same manner they attempted to prove her return home  
 on the 29th of *January*; one witness declared that between  
 four and five in the evening a young woman, whom he believes  
 to be *Canning*, enquired of him at *Endfield-wash* the way to *Lon-*  
*don*, and complained that she had been frightened by a *tanner's*  
*dog*; yet that this interview happened two hundred yards distant  
 and farther from *London* than the tanner's house. Here it is neces-  
 sary to observe, that this tanner's house is near a foot-bridge; and  
 that upon the trial of *Squires*, *Skarrat* declared he asked her, if  
*she perceived a tanner's house near the bridge*, and that she said,  
*she believed there was*.

Another witness declared, that he saw a woman, whom he  
 takes to be *Canning*, pass by his door at *Endfield-Wash*, and that  
 he asked her if she wanted a husband, that she had a white hand  
 and a whitish face, and he looked at her very wishfully.

And a third declared, that she met her between three and four  
 miles from *Wells's*, and looking upon *Canning*, she said she be-  
 lieved it was her, and that she thought she remembered her again  
*by the tip of her nose*.

Such, Gentlemen, was the nature of the evidence produced;  
 it suited the cause it was to support, and better could not be ex-  
 pected.

I am not ignorant that it has been asserted, that *Virtue Hall*  
 had recanted her recantation, and now adhered to her evidence  
 given at the trial of *Squires*: and that this has been assigned as a  
 reason for my not producing her as a witness.

Were it lawful, it was certainly improper for me to produce  
 her, in order to contradict, upon her oath, what she had before  
 sworn.—Yet she attended, and *Canning's* friends had notice, and  
 might, if they pleased, have examined her to confirm her former  
 evidence; but they knew better: they knew how groundless the  
 reports were of her having departed from her recantation.

My next purpose was to trace, if possible, where, or under  
 whose direction *Canning* was, and the cause of her pretended ab-  
 sence, not as such inquiry was necessary for *Canning's* Conviction,  
 but for general satisfaction.

Was an impostor dispunishable till the whole of his imposture  
 shall appear, publick security would soon be at an end: the con-  
 cealed villain might swear what he pleased, and it must be true:  
 unless it could be resolved, where was he?



Abfurd and dangerous as this doctrine is, it hath too much prevailed in favour of *Canning*.

I fhall now ftate fome circumftances which are further evidences of her impofture, and which have fatisfied me, under whole directions at leaft ſhe hath been.

After *Canning* had been taken down to *Endfield* upon the 1ft of *February*, ſhe went to Juſtice *Teſhmaker's* at *Edmonton*, and made her information in writing; which ſhe ſigned with her MARK in her Mother's preſence.

She afterwards, upon the 7th of *February*, went from her Mother's houſe to Juſtice *Fielding's* with another information, *already prepared*, ſigned alſo with her MARK.

Some of her writing was produced upon the trial, and it appeared ſhe could write much better than moſt perſons in her ſtation.

Why then did ſhe ſign her mark, unleſs it was to appear illiterate?

Will it be ſaid that ſhe who could take ſo long a journey on the 1ft of *February*, continued unable from thence to the 7th to write her name?

The next article, is the ſhift, which her mother in two or three days after her daughter's ſuppoſed return produced to Mrs *Mayle*, formerly her midwife, and a friend to the family, as the ſhift her daughter had worn *during the month's abſence*.

Had ſhe really been dragged down to *Endfield-Waſh*, confined without gown or ſtays in a dirty room, and had walked home eleven miles, through the dirt, on a public road, in a dark night, and in the very miſt of winter, what muſt have been its condition?

It was as clean as if ſhe had worn it but four or five days, it had not one ſpeck of dirt upon it; *nor any other appearance* which might have been expected!

The laſt circumſtance the mother excuſed by this apology, that her daughter had caught cold at a waſhing-tub about *four or five months* ago.

Mrs. *Mayle* having firſt declared this to ſome of her friends, afterwards came voluntarily to me and attested it, for the ſake of public juſtice.

I ſhall now lay before You a circumſtance, in which I own it appears to me very ſtrange the mother and the daughter ſhould agree.



*Canning*, upon her examination before Mr. Alderman *Chitty*, swore, that the two men who had robbed her forced her through *Bishopsgate-street*, each holding her up under the arm.—The mother was *present* when she swore it.

This story was ill concerted ; two men, who had thus robbed and stripped a young woman in *Moorfields*, and intended to carry her to *Endfield*, would scarce go half a mile out of their way in order, unnecessarily, to bring her through a public street, which they could so easily avoid.—If this may not be called a falsehood, what from its incredibility can ever be called so ?

But how much more surprizing is it, that the mother, during this pretended absence of her daughter, should cause the following Advertisements to be inserted in the *Daily Advertiser* of the 6th and 20th of *January*.

“ *E* *Lizabeth Cannon* went from her friends, between nine and ten of *Monday* night, between *Houndsditch* and *Bishopsgate* ; she is fresh-coloured, pitted with the small-pox, high forehead, light eye-brows, about five feet high, eighteen years of age, well set ; had on a masquerade purple stuff gown, black stuff petticoat, a white chip hat bound round with green, white apron and handkerchief, blue stockings, leather shoes.—[ ANY COACHMAN REMEMBERS TAKING UP SUCH A PERSON, AND CAN (a) ]— Any person that can give any account where she is, shall have two guineas reward, to be paid by Mrs. *Cannon* in *Aldermanbury-Postern*, a sawyer, which will be great satisfaction to her mother.”

(\*) “ *Note*, It is supposed she was forcibly taken away by some evil-disposed person, as she was heard to shriek out in a hackney-coach in *Bishopsgate-Street*. If the coachman remembers any thing of the affair, by giving an account as above, he shall be handsomely rewarded for his trouble.”

“ *L* *E F T* by her uncle and aunt in *Houndsditch*, about half-an-hour after nine in the evening, on *Monday* the first of *January*, a young woman upwards of eighteen years of age, pitted with the small-pox, high forehead, fresh-coloured, light eyes and eye-brows, dark hair, about five feet high ; had on a masquerade purple stuff gown, black quilted coat and green under-coat, blue stockings with red clocks, black leather shoes and clogs, white shaving-hat edged with green ribbon, white handkerchief and apron : the above young woman is supposed to be forcibly (by the screams and shrieks) taken into a coach by some ill-designed persons, the same young woman not being since heard of. Any coachman, or persons, that can give intelligence to Mrs. *Cannon*, sawyer in *Aldermanbury-Postern*, near *Fore-Street*, shall have six guineas reward, to be paid by Mrs. *Cannon*.—[ THIS IS THE LAST TIME OF ADVERTISING. HAD IN HER POCKETS TWELVE SHILLINGS AND NINE-PENCE HALF-PENNY (a). ]”

Before I state the observations which occur to me, on comparing these advertisements with the daughter's account before Alderman

(\*) This part of the Advertisement was wrote by a different hand from the former part, and at a different time ; but by whom did not appear upon the trial.

(a) *N. B.* The words “ [ ANY COACHMAN REMEMBERS TAKING UP SUCH A PERSON, AND CAN ] ” in the first Advertisement ; and the words “ [ THIS IS THE LAST TIME OF ADVERTISING,—AND HAD IN HER POCKETS TWELVE SHILLINGS AND NINE-PENCE HALF-PENNY ] ” in the last, appears to have been struck out of the Manuscript draughts which were sent to the printers, and are not incerted in the printed Advertisements.



derman Chitty, I must acquaint You, that the daughter in her information before Mr. Fielding swore, " That, immediately after, they, the same two men, violently took hold of her, and dragged her up into the gravel-walk that leads down to *Bethlehem-Gate* in *Moorfields*, and about the middle thereof, he, the said man, that first held her, gave her, with his fist, a very violent blow upon the right temple, *which threw her into a fit, and deprived her of her senses*, which fits, she, this informant, saith, she is accustomed and subject to, upon being frightened, and that *they often continue for six or seven hours*. And this informant saith, that when she came to herself, she perceived that she was carrying along by the same two men *in a large road-way*: And saith, that in a little time after she was so recovered, she was able to walk alone; however they continued to pull her along, which so intimidated and frightened her, that she durst not call out for assistance, or speak to them. And this informant saith, that in about *half an hour* after she had so recovered, they, the said two men, carried her this informant into *Wells's house*, at *Endfield-Wash*."

If *Canning* was in a *fit*, how could she swear she was carried through *Bishopsgate-street*? And if she was carried through *that street*, how could she swear she was in a *fit*?

But how came the mother, in her advertisements, to mention a circumstance her daughter *afterwards* swore to?

Upon the mother's cross-examination she declared, she had been *informed*, that her daughter had been carried through *Bishopsgate-street*; if so, why was not the person who gave her that intelligence *produced*? Might not an examination of that person, probably, have led to a further discovery? Is it not fair to conclude there was a *good reason* for not producing such person?

But whether the mother was so informed, or not, the conclusion, either way, strikes home; and 'tis evident, whoever *instructed* the daughter, she only spoke as she was *directed*.

Some other observations arise upon the face of the draughts of those advertisements, which cannot escape You; I forbear to mention them, from an unwillingness to dwell on minute articles.

Within a few days before the daughter's supposed return, the mother (as it appeared from her own mouth) acquainted several of her neighbours, that she had been at the CONJURER'S, *that he bid her be EASY, that her DAUGHTER was under the CARE of an OLD WOMAN, and would RETURN home again SAFE in a FEW DAYS.*



A true prophecy, indeed ! but *whence* came this Cunning Man by all *this* knowledge?—not from the *Mother* surely, she herself went to be informed ; besides, every one knows, that the pretenders to that art *never* draw the secret from their customers, and retail it them back again.

But to be serious : if the Conjuror really told the Mother so, 'tis certain, that he must have received this intelligence from one, who knew *under whose care* the Daughter was ; and if he did not, the conclusion is apparent.

Under whose directions *Canning* was, upon what occasion, and to whom the BED-GOWN belongs, every person will now form his own conjecture.

Far from triumphing at the Girl's Conviction, wicked as she is, I wish her discovery had been the means of intitling her to mercy, and of bringing those more guilty to justice : but this could not be expected ; the curtain, behind which the secret lay, was too closely drawn ; and none but her own friends permitted to see her.—And those who before protected her, as the tool of their politicks, in opposition to me, must not *now* desert her.

GENTLEMEN,

**I** Have thus laid before You my motives for enquiring into the case of *Squires*, for prosecuting *Canning*, and for defending the Three Countrymen, with my whole proceedings therein ; in all which I am not conscious of the least misrepresentation, or omission of any thing worthy Your consideration.

Under these circumstances, had I suffered the blood of a person, I thought innocent, to have been shed without an enquiry, so easily to be made, and so much to be depended upon ; had I suffered an imposture so dangerous to society to escape unnoticed, from the fear of the threatened consequences to myself ; or had I suffered the Three Innocent Countrymen (unable to defend themselves) to be crushed by the weight of power ; what account now could I have rendered You for my conduct.

The reproaches I have sustained, for these my endeavours to vindicate the laws of my country, I forbear to particularize, I am willing to forget : nor should I have taken any notice of the dangers I have been exposed to, was I not prompted to it by the gratitude I owe *My Lord-Mayor*, *Sir Charles Asgill*, and *Mr. Alderman Chitty*, for exposing their own persons, for my security, to a numerous and tumultuous assembly of people, who, misled by their own ignorance, and enraged by faction, insolently dared, during the trial, and in the very avenues lead-



ing to the ' court ' of justice, to threaten my life, in contempt of all law and authority.

My acknowledgments are also due to ' those worthy Citizens, who, from compassion towards the poor Countrymen, readily became their sureties, from time to time, for their appearance.

What I did, as a man, my heart tells me was right ; but as a magistrate, I readily submit to Your judgment.

I am,

GENTLEMEN,

*With the most profound Respect,*

*Your most faithful Servant,*

LONDON,  
*July 8, 1754.*

CRISP GASCOYNE.

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\* Justice-Hall in the Old-Bailey.

• Mr. Deputy Molineux,  
— Deputy Pyecroft,  
— Philip Grafton,  
— Samuel Read,

Mr. William Woolley,  
Benjamin Scott, Esq;  
Mr. Joseph Weston,  
Mr. Charles Lowth.



ing to the 'course of justice' to ascertain my law  
of law and equity.  
My acquaintance with the law is not a  
who, from my acquaintance with the law, I  
became the law, and I am now a  
What I did as a matter of course, I  
regarding, I readily submit to Your judgment.



I am,

Gentlemen,

With very respectful regards,

Your obedient servant,

LONDON,  
2nd 2/11/44



